my heart prompted me to fall on my knees, and ejaculate a ſilent thankſgiving to the God of my deliverance; ſince, at this diſtant time, I never think of it but the tear of gratitude ſtarts from my eye?

Every morning while I was in the pit I tied a knot in the corner of my handkerchief, ſuppoſing that, if I died there, and my body ſhould be afterwards found, the number of knots would certify how many days I had lived. Almoſt the firſt queſtion my friends aſked me was, how long I had been in the pit? Immediately I drew my handkerchief from my pocket, and bade them count the knots. They found ſeven, the exact number of nights I had been there. We now haſted out of the wood. I could walk without ſupport; but that was not allowed, each perſon preſent ſtriving to ſhew me how much they were rejoiced that they had found me alive and ſo well. They led me to the miller's houſe, where a great number of people were collected to ſee me. A gentleman, who had a country-houſe juſt by, very kindly, at my requeſt, ſent for a glaſs of white-wine. I ordered a piece of bread to be toaſted, which I ſoked in the wine, and ate. I now deſired the miller's wife to make me up a bed, fondly thinking that nothing more was wanting than a little refreſhing ſleep to terminate my misfortune. But, alas! I was ſtill to undergo greater ſufferings than I had yet endured. By the almoſt continual rains, together with the cold damp ariſing from the wet ground on which I lay, and not being able to take the leaſt exerciſe to keep up a proper circulation of the blood, my legs were much ſwelled and benumbed. Some of my friends, obſerving this, propoſed to ſend to Glaſgow for medical advice. I at firſt declined it, and happy had it been for me if I had purſued my own inclinations; but, unfortunately for me, a phyſician and ſurgeon were employed, both of them ignorant of what ought to have been done. Inſtead of ordering my legs into cold water, or rubbing them with a courſe towel, to bring on a gradual circulation, they applied hot bricks and large poultices to my feet. This, by expanding the blood-veſſels too ſuddenly, put me to much greater torture than I ever endured in my life, and not only prevented me enjoying that refreſhing ſleep I ſo much wanted, but actually produced a mortification in both my feet. I do not mean, by relating this circumſtance, to reflect on the faculty in general at Glaſgow; for, I was afterwards attended by gentlemen who are an honour to the profeſſion. The ſame method was purſued for ſeveral days, without even giving me the bark till I mentioned it myſelf. This happily ſtopt the progreſs of the mortification, which the doctors did not know had taken place till the miller's wife ſhewed them a black ſpot, about as broad as a ſhilling, at the bottom of my left heel. In a day or two more the whole ſkin, together with all the nails of my left foot, and three from my right foot, came off like the fingers of a glove.

Oppoſite the river on which the mill ſtood there was a bleach-field. It is cuſtomary for the watchmen in the night to blow a horn to frighten thieves. This I frequently heard when I was in the pit; and very often, when I was in a ſound ſleep at the miller's, I have been awakened by it in the greateſt horrors, ſtill thinking myſelf in the pit; ſo that, in fact, I ſuffered as much by imagination as from reality.

I continued ſix weeks at the miller's, when the roads became too bad for the doctors to viſit me, ſo that I was under the neceſſity of being carried in a ſedan chair to my lodgings in Glaſgow. By this time my right foot was quite well; but in my left foot, where the abovementioned black ſpot appeared, there was a large wound, and it too plainly proved that the os calcis was nearly all decayed; for the ſurgeon could put his probe through the centre of it. The fleſh too at the bottom of my foot was quite ſeparated from the bones and tendons, ſo that I was forced to ſubmit to have it cut off. In this painful ſtate I lay ſeveral months, reduced to a mere ſkeleton, taking thirty drops of laudanum every night; and, tho' it ſomewhat eaſed the pain in my foot, it was generally three or four in the morning before I got any reſt. My ſituation now became truly alarming; I had a conſultation of ſurgeons, who adviſed me to wait with patience for an exfoliation, when they had not the leaſt doubt but they ſhould ſoon cure my foot. At the ſame time they frankly acknowledged that it was impoſſible to aſcertain the preciſe time when that would happen, as it might be ſix, or even twelve months, before it came to paſs. In my emaciated condition I was certain that it was not poſſible for me to hold out half the time; and,

and, knowing that I muſt be a very great cripple with the loſs of my heel-bone, I came to a determined reſolution to have my leg taken off, and appointed the very next day for the operation; but no ſurgeon came near me. I ſincerely believe they wiſhed to perform a cure; but being, as I thought, the beſt judge of my own feelings, I was reſolved this time to be guided by my own opinion; accordingly, on the 2d of May 1770 my leg was taken off a little below the knee. Yet, notwithſtanding I had ſo long endured the rod of affliction, misfortunes ſtill followed me. About three hours after the amputation had been performed, and when I was quiet in bed, I found myſelf nearly fainting with the loſs of blood; the ligatures had all given way, and the arteries had bled a conſiderable time before it was diſcovered. By this time the wound was inflamed; nevertheleſs I was under the neceſſity of once more ſubmitting to the operation of the needle, and the principal artery was ſewed up four different times before the blood was ſtopped. I ſuffered much for two or three days, not daring to take a wink of ſleep; for the moment I ſhut my eyes, my ſtump (though conſtantly held by the nerve) would take ſuch convulſive motions, that I really think a ſlab to the heart could not be attended with greater pain. My blood too was become ſo very poor and thin, that it abſolutely drained through the wound near a fortnight after my leg was cut off. I lay for eighteen days and nights in one poſition, not daring to move, leſt the ligature ſhould again give way; but I could endure it no longer, and ventured to turn myſelf in bed, contrary to the advice of my ſurgeon, which I happily effected, and never felt greater pleaſure in my life. Six weeks after the amputation, I went out in a ſedan chair for the benefit of the air, being exactly nine months from the day I fell into the pit. Soon after, I took lodgings in the country; where, getting plenty of warm new milk, my appetite and ſtrength increaſed daily; and to this day, I bleſs God, I do enjoy perfect health; and I have ſince been the happy father of nine children. GEORGE SPEARING.

Greenwich Hoſpital, Aug. 1. 1793.

P. S. The above narrative is a plain ſimple ſtate of facts, and affords a very uſeful leſſon to mankind, viz. never to give way to deſpondency, be their ſituation ever ſo deplorable: let them confidently rely on Almighty Providence, and I ſincerely wiſh, and doubt not, but their misfortunes will terminate as happily as mine. G. S.

On the 20th of September 1769.

Almighty God! who, on this day,
My life from death didſt ſave,
To thee I now preſume to pray,
And future bleſſings crave.

Oh! grant ever may confeſs
Thy goodneſs ſhewn to me;
With grateful heart and tongue expreſs
The praiſe that's due to thee.

While in the dreary pit I lay,
My life thou didſt ſuſtain;
And, to my comfort I may ſay,
Thou gave'ſt refreſhing rain.

In this, thy providential care
Is to the world made known,
And teaches us to ſhun deſpair;
For thou art God alone.

Then, ſince my life thou didſt preſerve,
Oh! teach me how to live;
Let me not from thy precepts ſwerve:
This bleſſing to me give.

So will I yearly, on this day,
My grateful tribute bring,
In humble thanks to thee alway,
My Saviour, God, and King! G. S.

Anecdote of the Duke of Newcaſtle.

UPon the expected death of the King of Spain in 1759, the Duke, who was then Chancellor of the Exchequer, gave orders to his ſervants, that if any meſſenger arrived by expreſs, even if it was at midnight, he ſhould be inſtantly introduced to him. Pending this order a man on horſe-back knocking furiouſly at the outer gate about three o'clock in the morning, he was inſtantly admitted, and brought up to the Duke's bed-chamber. "Well, my good friend," ſays the Duke (putting on his ſtockings, and ſurveying the man ſplaſhed all over with mud from top to toe), "you muſt have rode hard?"—"Moſt damnably! never once ſlept during the whole journey."—"But you'r ſure he's dead?"—"Oh! moſt certainly."—"Ah! poor man, he's got out of a troubleſome world at laſt.—Pray when did you leave Madrid?"—"Madrid!" ſays the man in amaze; "Lord! your Grace, I never was there in my life." "And where the devil elſe did you come from?"—"Why, from Richmond in Yorkſhire, your Grace, and am come expreſs to acquaint you of the death of Sam Dickinſon the Exciſeman, whoſe place you know your Grace promiſed me at the laſt election, the moment the breath was out of his body."

Account

Account of Earl Mansfield continued from p. 265.

AS ſoon as Lord Mansfield was eſtabliſhed in the King's Bench, he began to make improvements in the practice of that court. On the 12th of November, four days after he had taken his ſeat, he made a very neceſſary regulation, obſerving, "Where we have no doubt, we ought not to put the parties to the delay and expence of a farther argument; nor leave other perſons, who may be intereſted in the determination of a point ſo general, unneceſſarily under the anxiety of ſuſpence."

The anxiety of ſuſpence, from this period, was no longer to be complained of in the Court of King's Bench. The regularity, punctuality, and diſpatch of the new Chief Juſtice, afforded ſuch general ſatisfaction, that they in proceſs of time drew into that court moſt of the cauſes which could be brought there for determination.

Sir James Burrows ſays, "I am informed, that at the ſittings for London and Middleſex only there are not ſo few as eight hundred cauſes ſet down a-year; and all diſpoſed of. And tho' many of them, eſpecially in London, are of conſiderable value, there are not more, upon an average, than between twenty and thirty ever heard of afterwards in the ſhape of ſpecial verdicts, ſpecial caſes, motions for new trials, or in arreſt of judgement. Of a bill of exceptions there has been no inſtance. (I do not include judgements upon criminal proſecutions; they are neceſſary conſequences of the convictions.) My Reports give but a very faint idea of the extent of the whole buſineſs which comes before the court: I only report what I think may be of uſe as a determination or illuſtration of ſome matter of law. I take no notice of the numerous queſtions of fact which are heard upon affidavits; the moſt tedious and irkſome part of the whole buſineſs). I take no notice of a a variety of conteſtations, which, after having been fully diſcuſſed, are decided without difficulty or doubt. I take no notice of many caſes which turn upon a conſtruction ſo peculiar and particular, as not to be likely to form a precedent for any other caſe. And yet, notwithſtanding this immenſity of buſineſs, it is notorious, that in conſequence of method and a few rules which have been laid down to prevent delay, (even where the parties themſelves would willingly conſent to it), nothing now hangs in court. Upon the laſt day of the very laſt term, if we exclude ſuch motions of the term as by deſire of the parties went over of courſe as peremptories, there was not a ſingle matter of any kind that remained undetermined, excepting one caſe relating to the proprietary lordſhip of Maryland, which was profeſſedly poſtponed on account of the preſent ſituation of America.

"One might ſpeak to the ſame effect concerning the laſt day of any former term for ſome years backward."

The ſame author alſo informs us, after reporting the famous caſe of Perrin and Blake, that it was remarkable, that excepting that caſe, and another in the ſame volume on Literary Property, there had not been, from the 6th of November 1756, to the time of his then preſent publication, 26th May 1776, a final difference of opinion in the court in any caſe, or upon any point whatſoever. "It is remarkable too," he adds, "that excepting theſe two caſes, no judgement given during the ſame period has been reverſed, either in the exchequer chamber, or in parliament: and even theſe reverſals were with great diverſity of opinion among the judges."

In the next year, the ill ſucceſs of the war then begun occaſioned a change in the adminiſtration, and the conflicts of contending parties rendered it impracticable for the Crown, at that juncture, to ſettle a new miniſtry. In order, therefore, to give pauſe to the violence of both ſides, Lord Mansfield was induced to accept the poſt of Chancellor of the Exchequer on the 9th April 1757, which he held until the 2d of July in the ſame year. During this interval, he employed himſelf with great ſucceſs to bring about a coalition; which being effected, produced a ſeries of events which raiſed the glory of Great Britain to the higheſt point at which it has ever been ſeen. In the ſame year he was offered, but refuſed, the office of Lord High Chancellor; and in November 1758, he was elected a Governor of the Charter-houſe in the room of the Duke of Marlborough, then lately deceaſed.

For ſeveral years after this period the tenor of Lord Mansfield's life was marked only with a moſt ſedulous diſcharge of the duties of his office. In 1760 Geo. II. died, and the new reign commenced with alterations in adminiſtration, which gave riſe to a virulent ſpirit of oppoſition,

conducted with a degree of violence and aſperity never known at any former time. As a friend to the then adminiſtration, Lord Mansfield was marked out for a more than ordinary ſhare of malicious invective *.

In 1765 the Biſhop of Glouceſter (Warburton) republiſhed his Divine Legation of Moſes, which he dedicated to Lord Mansfield in an addreſs, wherein, with great ability, he pointed out the riſe and progreſs of the ſpirit of irreligion and licentiouſneſs which then prevailed. In the courſe of this narrative (which deſerves at this time to be read) he mentions, as a peculiarly fortunate circumſtance, "that while every other part of the community ſeems to lie *in fœce Romuli*, the adminiſtration of public juſtice in England runs as pure as where neareſt to its celeſtial ſource; purer than Plato dared venture to conceive it, even in his feigned Republic."

He proceeds, "Now whether we are not to call this the interpoſing hand of Providence; for I am ſure all hiſtory doth not afford another inſtance of ſo much purity and integrity in one part, co-exiſting with ſo much decay and ſo many infirmities in the reſt; or whether profounder politicians may not be able to diſcover ſome hidden force, ſome peculiar virtue in the eſſential parts, or in the well-adapted frame of our excellent conſtitution; in either caſe, this ſingular and ſhining phænomenon hath afforded a chearful conſolation to thinking men amidſt all this dark aſpect from our diſorders and diſtreſſes."

"But the Evil Genius of England would not ſuffer us to enjoy it long; for, as if envious of this laſt ſupport of Government, he hath now inſtigated his blackeſt agents to the very extent of their malignity; who, after the moſt villanous inſults on all other orders and ranks in ſociety, have at length proceeded to calumniate even the King's Supreme Court of Juſtice, under its ableſt and moſt unblemiſhed adminiſtration.

"After this, who will not be tempted to deſpair of his country, and ſay with the good old man in the ſcene—

——"Ipſa ſi cupiat ſalus
"Servare, prorſus non poteſt hanc familiam?"

"Athens, indeed, fell by degenerate manners like our own; but ſhe fell the later, and with the leſs diſhonour, for having always kept inviolable that reverence which ſhe, and indeed all Greece, had been long accuſtomed to pay to her auguſt court of Areopagus. Of this modeſt reſerve, amidſt a general diſorder, we have a ſtriking inſtance in the conduct of one of the principal inſtruments of her ruin. The witty Ariſtophanes began, as all ſuch inſtruments do, (whether with wit or without), by deriding virtue and religion; and this in the brighteſt exemplar of both, the godlike Socrates. The libeller went on to attack all conditions of men. He calumniated the magiſtrates; he turned the public aſſemblies into ridicule; and, with the moſt beaſtly and blaſphemous abuſe, outraged their prieſts, their altars, nay, the very eſtabliſhed gods themſelves. But here he ſtopped; and, unawed by all beſides, whether divine or human, he did not dare to caſt ſo much as one licentious trait againſt that venerable judicature; a circumſtance which the readers of his witty ribaldry cannot but obſerve with ſurpriſe and admiration;—not at the poet's modeſty, for he had none, but at the remaining virtue of a debauched and ruined people; who yet would not bear to ſee that clear fountain of juſtice defiled by the odious ſpawn of buffoons and libellers.

"Nor was this the only conſolation which Athens had in its calamities. Its pride was flattered in falling by apoſtate wits of the firſt order: while the agents of public miſchief amongſt us, with the hoarſe notes and blunt pens of ballad-makers, not only accelerate our ruin but accumulate our diſgraces; wretches the moſt contemptible for their parts, the moſt infernal for their manners.

"To conclude. Great men, my Lord, are ſent for the times; the times are fitted for the reſt, of common make. Eraſmus and the preſent Chief Juſtice of England (whatever he may think) were ſent by Providence for the ſake of Humanity, to adorn two periods, when religion at one time and ſociety at another moſt needed their ſupport; I do not ſay of their great talents, but of that heroic moderation ſo neceſſary to allay the violence of public diſorders; for to be moderate amidſt party extremes requires no common degree of patriotic courage.

"Such

* See the North Briton, *paſſim*; and Churchill's works, particularly the concluſion of the fourth book of The Ghoſt.

"Such characters rarely fail to perform much of the taſk for which they were ſent; but never without finding their labour ill repaid, even by thoſe in whoſe ſervice it was employed. That glory of the Prieſthood left the world he had ſo nobly benefited with this tender complaint—'Hoc tempore nihil ſcribi aut agi poteſt quod non pateat calumniæ; nec raro fit, ut dum agis circumſpectiſſime utrumque partem offendas, quum in utraque ſint qui pariter inſaniant.' A complaint fated, alas, to be the motto of every man who greatly ſerves his country."

A change in the adminiſtration took place in 1765, which introduced the Marquis of Rockingham and his friends to govern the country; and the meaſures then adopted not agreeing with Lord Mansfield's ſentiments, he for the firſt time became an opponent of Government. On the bill for repealing the ſtamp act he ſpoke, and divided againſt it, and is ſuppoſed to have had ſome ſhare in the compoſition of the proteſts on that occaſion, though he did not ſign them. In the ſame year he is ſaid to have animadverted with no ſmall degree of ſeverity on the incautious expreſſion of Lord Camden on the affair of prohibiting the exportation of corn, that it was but a forty days tyranny at the outſide *.

In 1767 the Diſſenters cauſe was determined, in which Lord Mansfield delivered a ſpeech which has ſince been printed, and the events of the ſucceeding year were the cauſes of the public prints being deluged with torrents of abuſe on the Chief Juſtice. In that year was the general election. Mr Wilkes, returned from abroad, became a candidate for the city of London, and afterwards was choſen repreſentative for the county of Middleſex. Having been outlawed ſome years before, he now applied for a reverſal of that proceeding. On the 8th of June the conſideration of it came before the court of King's Bench, when the Judges delivered their opinions very fully, and were unanimous that the outlawry was illegal, and muſt be reverſed. On this occaſion Lord Mansfield took the opportunity of entering into a full ſtatement of the caſe, and a juſtification of his own conduct. The reader will find the caſe reported by Sir James Burrows, from whom we ſhall extract the following, which appears to have been the moſt important part of his Lordſhip's ſpeech.

"It is fit to take ſome notice of the various terrors hung out; the numerous crowds which have attended and now attend in and about the Hall out of all reach of hearing what paſſes in court; and the tumults which in other places have ſhamefully inſulted all order and government. Audacious addreſſes in print dictate to us, from thoſe they call the People, the judgement to be given now, and afterwards upon the conviction. Reaſons of policy are urged, from danger to the kingdom by commotions and general confuſion.

"Give me leave to take the opportunity of this great and reſpectable audience to let the whole world know all ſuch attempts are vain. Unleſs we have been able to find an error which will bear us out to reverſe the outlawry, it muſt be affirmed, the conſtitution does not allow reaſons of ſtate to influence our judgements: God forbid it ſhould! We muſt not regard political conſequences, how formidable ſoever they might be. If rebellion was the certain conſequence, we are bound to ſay, Fiat Juſtitia, ruat Cœlum. The conſtitution truſts the King with reaſons of ſtate and policy: He may ſtop proſecutions: He may pardon offences; it is his to judge whether the law or the criminal ſhould yield. We have no election. None of us encouraged or approved the commiſſion of either of the crimes of which the defendant is convicted: None of us had any hand in his being proſecuted. As to myſelf, I took no part (in another place) in the addreſſes for that proſecution. We did not adviſe or aſſiſt the defendant to fly from juſtice: it was his own act, and he muſt take the conſequences. None of us have been conſulted, or had any thing to do with the preſent proſecution. It is not in our power to ſtop it: it was not in our power to bring it on. We cannot pardon. We are to ſay, what we take the law to be. If we do not ſpeak our real opinions, we prevaricate with God and our own conſciences.

"I paſs over many anonymous letters

* The ſpeeches in this debate were never printed, but the ſubſtance of them all was conſolidated in a pamphlet publiſhed at the time entitled, "A ſpeech againſt the ſuſpending and diſpenſing prerogative," 8vo. Since reprinted in Debrett's Debates, vol. 4. p. 384.

I have received; thoſe in print are public; and ſome of them have been brought judicially before the court. Whoever the writers are, they take the wrong way. I will do my duty unawed. What am I to fear? that *mendax infamia* from the preſs, which daily coins falſe facts and falſe motives? The lies of calumny carry no terror to me. I truſt, that my temper of mind, and the colour and conduct of my life, have given me a ſuit of armour againſt theſe arrows. If during this King's reign, I have ever ſupported his government and aſſiſted his meaſures, I have done it without any other reward than the conſciouſneſs of doing what I thought right. If I have ever oppoſed, I have done it upon the points themſelves, without mixing in party or faction, and without any collateral views. I honour the King and reſpect the people. But many things acquired by the favour of either are, in my account, objects not worth ambition. I wiſh Popularity: But it is that popularity which follows; not that which is run after.—It is that popularity which, ſooner or later, never fails to do juſtice to the purſuit of noble ends by noble means. I will not do that which my conſcience tells me is wrong upon this occaſion, to gain the huzzas of thouſands, or the daily praiſe of all the papers which come from the preſs. I will not avoid doing what I think is right, though it ſhould draw on me the whole artillery of libels, all that falſehood and malice can invent, or the credulity of a deluded populace can ſwallow. I can ſay with a great magiſtrate, upon an occaſion and under circumſtances not unlike, "*Ego hoc animo ſemper fui, ut invidiam virtute partam, gloriam, non invidiam putarem.*"

"The threats go further than abuſe: perſonal violence is denounced. I do not believe it: it is not the genius of the worſt men of this country in the worſt of times. But I have ſet my mind at reſt. The laſt end that can happen to any man never comes too ſoon, if he falls in ſupport of the law and liberty of his country (for liberty is ſynonymous to law and government). Such a ſhock, too, might be productive of public good: It might awake the better part of the kingdom out of that lethargy which ſeems to have benumbed them; and bring the mad part back to their ſenſes, as men intoxicated are ſometimes ſtunned into ſobriety.

"Once for all, let it be underſtood, that no endeavours of this kind will influence any man who at preſent ſits here. If they had any effect, it would be contrary to their intent: Leaning againſt their impreſſion might give a bias the other way. But I hope, and I know, that I have fortitude enough to reſiſt even that weakneſs. No libels, no threats, nothing that has happened, nothing that can happen, will weigh a feather againſt allowing the defendant upon this and every other queſtion, not only the whole advantage he is entitled to from ſubſtantial law and juſtice, but every benefit from the moſt critical nicety of form, which any other defendant could claim under the like objection. The only effect I feel is an anxiety to be able to explain the grounds upon which we proceed; ſo as to ſatisfy all mankind, that a flaw of form given way to in this caſe, could not have been got over in any other."

In January 1770 Lord Mansfield again was offered the great ſeal, which was given to Mr Charles Yorke; and in Hilary Term 1771 he a third time declined the ſame offer, and the ſeal was entruſted to Lord Bathurſt.

The year 1770 was alſo memorable for various attacks made on his Lordſhip's judicial character, both in the Houſes of Lords and Commons. In one of theſe, the propriety of a direction given to the jury in the caſe of the King and Woodfall was called in queſtion, which occaſioned his Lordſhip to produce to the Houſe a copy of the unanimous opinion of the court of King's Bench in that cauſe; which, after being much canvaſſed and oppoſed, was ſuffered to ſtand its ground without being over-ruled. This celebrated opinion is printed at large in Debrett's Parliamentary Debates, See Scots Mag. for 1770. p. 364. 657.

On the 19th of October 1776, his Lordſhip was advanced to the dignity of an Earl of Great Britain, by the title of Earl of Mansfield, and to his male iſſue; and for want of ſuch iſſue to Louiſa Viſcounteſs Stormont, and to her heirs-male by David Viſcount Stormont her huſband. The ſame title in 1792 was limited to Lord Stormont himſelf, who has ſince ſucceeded to it.

We come now to a period of his Lordſhip's life which furniſhes an event diſgraceful to the age and country in which the fact was committed. An union

nion of folly, enthuſiaſm, and knavery, had excited alarms in the minds of ſome weak people, that encouragements were given to the favourers and profeſſors of the Roman Catholic faith inconſiſtent with religion and true policy. The act of parliament which excited the clamour had paſſed with little oppoſition, and had not received any extraordinary ſupport from Lord Mansfield. The minds of the public were inflamed by artful miſrepreſentations; the rage of a popular mob was ſoon directed towards the moſt eminent perſons. Accordingly, in the night between Tueſday the 6th and Wedneſday the 7th of June, his Lordſhip's houſe in Bloomſbury-Square was attacked by a party of rioters, who on the Friday and Tueſday preceding had, to the amount of many thouſands, ſurrounded the avenues of both Houſes of Parliament, under pretence of attending Lord George Gordon when he preſented the petition from the Proteſtant aſſociation. On Tueſday evening the priſon of Newgate had been thrown open, all the combuſtible part reduced to aſhes, and the felons let looſe upon the public. It was after this attempt to deſtroy the means of ſecuring the victims of criminal juſtice that the rioters aſſaulted the reſidence of the chief magiſtrate of the firſt criminal court in the kingdom; nor were they diſperſed till they had burnt all the furniture, pictures, books, manuſcripts, deeds, and in ſhort every thing which fire could conſume in his Lordſhip's houſe, ſo that nothing remained but the walls, which were ſeen next morning almoſt red hot from the violence of the flames, preſenting a melancholy and awful ruin to the eyes of the paſſengers.

On Wedneſday the devaſtation became almoſt general throughout London. The houſes of many of the moſt reſpectable individuals had been previouſly attacked: That evening the Fleet and King's Bench priſons were ſet on fire; the bank of England, the inns of court, almoſt all the public buildings, were threatened with deſtruction; and an univerſal conflagration muſt have taken place, if the King had not iſſued a proclamation for the ſpeedy and effectual interpoſition of the military power. Till then, the ſoldiery had ſcarcely dared to act offenſively; the ordinary magiſtrates were for the moſt part deterred, or prevented by various cauſes, from giving their ſanction to the employment of the troops; and in many places, the men under arms with their officers at their head, though drawn up in military order, did nothing more than preſerve a ſpace between the incendiaries and the crowd of ſpectators, ſo as to have the effect of enabling the former to demoliſh the houſes and property of their fellow-ſubjects without interruption.

So unexpected was this daring outrage on order and government, that it burſt on Lord Mansfield without his being prepared in the ſlighteſt manner to reſiſt it. He eſcaped with his life only, and retired to a place of ſafety, where he remained until the 14th of June, the laſt day of term, when he again took his ſeat in the court of King's Bench. "The reverential ſilence" ſays Mr Douglas, "which was obſerved when his Lordſhip reſumed his place on the Bench, was expreſſive of ſentiments of condolence and reſpect more affecting than the moſt eloquent addreſs the occaſion could have ſuggeſted."

"The amount of that part of Lord Mansfield's loſs which might have been eſtimated, and was capable of a compenſation in money, is known to have been very great. This he had a right to recover againſt the hundred. Many others had taken that courſe, but his Lordſhip thought it more conſiſtent with the dignity of his character not to reſort to the indemnification provided by the Legiſlature. His ſentiments on the ſubject of a reparation from the ſtate were communicated to the board of works in a letter dated 18th July 1780, written in conſequence of an application which they had made to him (as one of the principal ſufferers), purſuant to directions from the treaſury, founded on a vote of the Houſe of Commons, requeſting him to ſtate the nature and amount of his loſs. In that letter, after ſome introductory expreſſions of civility to the Surveyor General, to whom it was addreſſed, his Lordſhip ſays, "Beſides what is irreparable, my pecuniary loſs is great. I apprehended no danger, and therefore took no precaution. But, how great ſoever that loſs may be, I think it does not become me to claim or expect reparation from the ſtate. I have made up my mind to my misfortune, as I ought; with this conſolation, that it came from thoſe whoſe object manifeſtly was general confuſion and deſtruction at home, in addition to a dangerous

gerous and complicated war abroad. If I ſhould lay before you any account or computation of the pecuniary damage I have ſuſtained, it might ſeem a claim or expectation of being indemnified. Therefore you will have no further trouble upon this ſubject from, &c. MANSFIELD."

From this time the luſtre of Lord Mansfield continued to ſhine with unclouded brightneſs until the end of his political life, unleſs his oppoſition to the meaſures of the preſent adminiſtration at the early period of their appointment ſhall be thought to detract in ſome ſmall degree from his merit. It is certain many of his admirers ſaw with concern a connection with the opponents of government at that juncture ſcarce compatible with the dignity of the Chief Juſtice of Great Britain. At length infirmities preſſed upon him, and he became unable to attend his duty with the ſame punctuality and aſſiduity with which he had been accuſtomed. It has been ſuppoſed that he held his office after he was diſabled from executing the duties of it from a wiſh to ſecure the ſucceſſion to it of a very particular friend. Be this as it may, the Chief Juſtice continued his office until the month of June 1788, when he ſent in his reſignation.

From this period the bodily powers of his Lordſhip continued to decline; his mental faculties however remained without decay almoſt to the laſt. During this time he was particularly inquiſitive and anxious about the proceedings in France, and felt his ſenſibility, in common with every good man, wounded by the horrible inſtance of democratic infatuation in the murder of the innocent Louis the XVI. He lived juſt long enough to expreſs his ſatisfaction at the check given to the French by the Prince Cobourg in March laſt; on the 20th of which month, after continuing ſome days in a ſtate of inſenſibility, he departed this life, at the age of 88 years. [p. 154.]

"In his political oratory," ſays a writer of the preſent times, "he was not without a rival, no one had the honour of *ſurpaſſing* him; and let it be remembered, that his competitor was PITT.

"The rhetorician that addreſſed himſelf to Tully in theſe memorable words, —*Demoſthenes tibi præripuit, ne primus eſſes Orator, tu illi ne ſolus*,—anticipated their application to Mansfield and Pitt.—If the one poſſeſſed Demoſthenean fire and energy, the other was at leaſt a Cicero. Their oratory differed in ſpecies, but was equal in merit.—There was at leaſt no ſuperiority on the ſide of Pitt.—Mansfield's eloquence was not indeed of that daring, bold, declamatory kind, ſo irreſiſtibly powerful in the momentary buſtle of popular aſſemblies; but it was poſſeſſive of that pure and Attic ſpirit, and ſeductive power of perſuaſion, that delights, inſtructs, and eventually triumphs. It has been very beautifully and juſtly compared to a river, that meanders through verdant meads and flowery gardens, reflecting in its cryſtal boſom the varied objects that adorn its banks, and refreſhing the country through which it flows.

"To illuſtrate his oratory by example, would require voluminous tranſcripts from the records of Parliament; and it is unneceſſary, as we can appeal to living recollection.

"Having added weight and dignity to the ſeat of Attorney and Solicitor General, his reputation as a ſpeaker, a lawyer, and a politician, elevated him to the Peerage, and the exalted poſt of Chief Juſtice of England. He aſcended to the dignities of State by rapid ſtrides: they were not beſtowed by the caprice of party favour or affection; they were (as was ſaid of Pliny) liberal diſpenſations of power upon an object that knew how to add new luſtre to that power, by the rational exertion of his own.

"Here we can ſpeak of this great man within our own recollection; and however party prejudices may adopt their different favourites, and each contend in detracting from the merit of the other, it is, we believe, generally underſtood, that precedence is allowed the Earl of Mansfield, as the firſt Magiſtrate that ever ſo pre-eminently graced that important ſtation. The wiſdom of his deciſions, and unbiaſſed tenor of his public conduct, will be held in veneration by the ſages of the law, as long as the ſpirit of the Conſtitution and juſt notions of equity continue to have exiſtence. No man has ever in an equal degree poſſeſſed that wonderful ſagacity in diſcovering chicanery and artifice, and ſeparating fallacy from truth, and ſophiſtry from argument, ſo as to hit the exact equity of the caſe. He ſuffered not Juſtice to be ſtrangled in the nets of form.

[*To be continued.*]

Addreſs

Addreſs of Gen. Dumourier to the French Nation.

SINCE the commencement of the revolution, I have devoted myſelf to the maintenance of the liberty and honour of the nation.

The ſervices I rendered in the year 1792, are the moſt memorable. Miniſter of foreign affairs during three months, I elevated and ſuſtained the dignity of the French name throughout all Europe. I was calumniated by an odious cabal, by whom I was charged with having plundered ſix millions of livres deſtined for ſecret ſervices. I have proved, that of this ſum I did not expend half a million.

Having quitted the career of politics towards the cloſe of the month of June, I commanded a ſmall army in the department of the north. This department I was ordered to quit with my troops, at the very time the Auſtrians entered in force that part of the Republic. I diſobeyed the order, ſaved the department, and an attempt was made to come on me by ſurpriſe, for the purpoſe of conveying me to the citadel of Metz, where I was to be condemned by a council of war to ſuffer death.

On the 28th of Auguſt I took upon me, in Champagne, the command of an army of twenty thouſand men, weak, and without either diſcipline or organization. I arreſted the progreſs of eighty thouſand Pruſſians and Heſſians, and forced them to retreat after they had ſacrificed the one half of their army. I was then the ſaviour of France; and then it was that the moſt wicked of men, the opprobrium of Frenchmen--in a word, Marat, began to calumniate me without any mercy. With a part of the victorious army of Champagne, and ſome other troops, I entered, on the 5th of November, the Belgic provinces, where I gained the for-ever memorable battle of Jemappe; and, after a ſucceſſion of advantages, entered Liege and Aix-la-Chapelle towards the cloſe of that month. From that moment my deſtruction was reſolved on; and I have been accuſed of aſpiring, now to the title of Duke of Brabant, now to the Stadtholderſhip, and again to the Dictatorſhip. To retard and cruſh my ſucceſſes, the miniſter Pache, ſupported by the criminal faction to whom all our evils are to be aſcribed, ſuffered the victorious army to want every thing, and ſucceeded in diſbanding it by famine and nakedneſs. The conſequence was, that more than fifteen thouſand men were in the hoſpitals, more than twenty-five thouſand deſerted through miſery and diſguſt, and upwards of ten thouſand horſes died of hunger!!!

I tranſmitted to the National Convention very ſtrenuous remonſtrances, which I followed up by repairing in perſon to Paris, to engage the legiſlators to apply a remedy to the evil: they did not even condeſcend to read the four memorials I delivered in. During the twenty-ſix hours I ſpent at Paris, I heard almoſt every night bands of pretended federates demand my head; and calumnies of every deſcription, as well as menaces and inſults, followed me even into the country houſe to which I retired.

Having delivered in my reſignation, I was retained in the ſervice of my country, becauſe it was propoſed to me to negotiate the ſuſpenſion of the war againſt England and Holland, which I had conceived as indiſpenſable to the ſafety of the Netherlands. Whilſt I negotiated, and that ſucceſsfully, the National Convention itſelf haſtened to declare war, without making any preparations, and without either power or means for its ſupport.

I was not even adviſed of this declaration, and learned it through the medium of the gazettes only. I haſtened to form a ſmall army of new troops, who had never fought; and with theſe troops, whom confidence rendered invincible, I made myſelf maſter of three ſtrong places, and was ready to penetrate into the middle of Holland, when I learned the diſaſter of Aix-la-Chapelle, the raiſing of the ſiege of Maeſtricht, and the ſad retreat of the army. By this army I was loudly ſummoned—I abandoned my conqueſt to fly to its ſuccour; and conſidered that we could be extricated from our difficulties by a ſpeedy ſucceſs only. I led my companions in arms to the enemy. On the 16th of March I had a conſiderable advantage at Tirlemont. On the 18th I brought the enemy to a general action; and the centre and right wing, under my charge, were victorious. The left wing, after having attacked imprudently, fled. On the 19th we retreated honourably with the brave men that were left together; for a part of the army diſbanded itſelf. On the 21ſt and 22d we fought with the ſame courage; and to our firmneſs was owing the preſervation of the

remains

remains of an army which breathes ſolely for true liberty, for the reign of the laws, and for the extinction of anarchy.

It was then that the Marats, the Roberſpierres, and the criminal ſects of Jacobins of Paris, plotted the fall of the Generals, and more eſpecially of mine. Theſe villains, bribed with the gold of foreign powers, to complete the diſorganization of the armies, cauſed almoſt all the Generals to be arreſted. They keep them in the jails of Paris to Septemberize them; for thus it is that theſe monſters have coined a word, to hand down to poſterity the remembrance of the horrid maſſacres of the firſt ſix days of September.

Whilſt I was employed in recompoſing the army, in which employment I laboured night and day, on the 1ſt of April (yeſterday) four commiſſioners of the National Convention reached me, with a decree purporting that I ſhould be brought to the bar of the Convention itſelf. The war miniſter, Bournonville, (my pupil), was weak enough to accompany them to ſucceed me in my command. The perſons who were in the ſuite of theſe perfidious emiſſaries, informed me themſelves, that different groupes of aſſaſſins, either fugitive from or driven out of my army, were diſperſed on the road to kill me before I could reach Paris. I ſpent ſeveral hours in endeavouring to convince the commiſſioners of the imprudence of this arreſt. Nothing could ſhake their pride: and I therefore arreſted the whole of them to ſerve me as hoſtages againſt the crimes of Paris. I inſtantly arranged with the Imperialiſts a ſuſpenſion of arms, and marched towards the capital, to extinguiſh, as ſpeedily as poſſible, the lighted embers of civil war.

My dear countrymen! it is expedient that a true and brave man remove from you the veil which covers all our crimes and misfortunes. In 1789, we made great efforts to obtain liberty, equality, and the ſovereignty of the people. Our principles were conſecrated in the declaration of the rights of man; and there have reſulted from the labours of our legiſlators, 1ſt, the declaration which ſays that France is and ſhall remain a monarchy; 2dly, a conſtitution to which we ſwore fealty in 1789, 90, and 91.

This conſtitution might, and indeed muſt have been imperfect; but it ought and might have been believed, that with time and experience its errors would be rectified, and that the neceſſary ſtrife between the legiſlative and executive powers would eſtabliſh a wiſe equilibrium, which would prevent either of theſe powers from ſeizing the whole of the authority, and attaining deſpotiſm. If the deſpotiſm of a ſingle individual is dangerous to liberty, how much more odious muſt be that of ſeven hundred men, many of whom are void of principles, without morals, and who have been able to reach that ſupremacy by cabals or crimes alone!

Licentiouſneſs and exceſs ſoon rendered it impoſſible to ſupport the yoke of a conſtitution that gave laws. The tribunes influenced the aſſembly of repreſentatives, and were themſelves awed by the dangerous club of the Jacobines at Paris. The ſtrife between the two powers became at length a deadly combat. Then was the equilibrium deſtroyed—France ceaſed to have a King; and the victory of the 10th of Auguſt was foiled by the atrocious crimes of the firſt days of September.

All the departments, but more eſpecially the wretched city of Paris, were delivered up to pillage, to denunciations, proſcriptions, and maſſacres. No Frenchman, the aſſaſſins and their accomplices excepted, had either his life or his property in ſecurity! The conſternation of ſlavery was augmented by the clamorous orgies of villians: Bands of pretended federates ran through and laid waſte the departments; and of the ſeven hundred individuals who compoſed this deſpotic and anarchical body, four or five hundred groaned and decreed, and decreed and groaned, expoſed to the exterminating ſword of the Marats and Roberſpierres. It was thus that the unfortunate Louis the Sixteenth periſhed, without a judicial trial, and without a tribunal; and it is thus that the decree of the 19th of November has provoked all nations, by holding out to them our aid, provided they will conſent to diſorganize themſelves. It is thus that the unjuſt and impolitic decree of the 15th of December has alienated from us the hearts of the Belgians, has driven us from the Netherlands, and would have brought about the maſſacre of our whole army by this nation, provoked at our outrages and our crimes, if I had not ſaved that very army by my proclamations. It is thus that a decree eſtabliſhed the bloody tribunal which places the lives of the citizens at the mercy of a ſmall number

of

of iniquitous Judges, without recourſe or appeal to any other tribunal. It is thus that during the laſt month all the decrees have been marked by the ſtamp of inſatiable avarice, by the blindeſt pride, and more eſpecially by the deſire of maintaining power, by calling to the moſt important poſts of the ſtate no other than daring incapable and criminal men, by driving away or murdering men enlightened and of a high character, and by ſupporting a phantom of a Republic, which their errors in adminiſtration and in policy, as well as their crimes, had rendered impracticable. Theſe ſeven hundred individuals deſpiſe, deteſt, calumniate, and revile each other; and have already, and that frequently, thought of poignarding the one the other. At this moment their blind ambition has impelled them to coaleſce afreſh; and bold criminality allies itſelf to feeble virtue, to preſerve a power as unjuſt as it is unſteady. In the mean time, their committees devour every thing, that of the National Treaſury abſorbing the public funds, without being able to render any account of the expenditure.

What has this Convention done to maintain the war it has provoked againſt all the powers of Europe?

It has diſorganized the armies, inſtead of re-inforcing and recruiting the troops of the line, and the ancient battalions of national volunteers, which would have formed a reſpectable army. Inſtead of recompenſing theſe brave warriors by promotion and praiſes, theſe legiſlators have left the battalions incomplete, naked, diſarmed, and diſcontented. In the ſame way have they treated the excellent cavalry; and the brave French artillery is in the ſame manner exhauſted, abandoned, and in want of every neceſſary. They notwithſtanding create new corps, compoſed of the ſatellites of the ſecond of September, and commanded by men who have never ſerved, and who are in no other way to be dreaded, unleſs by the armies they ſurcharge and diſorganize. The Convention ſacrifices every thing to theſe ſatellites of tyranny, to theſe cowardly headloppers. The choice of officers, and that of adminiſtrators, are in every particular the ſame: we ſee throughout the tyranny which flatters the wicked, becauſe the wicked alone can ſupport tyranny:—And, in its pride and its ignorance, this Convention orders the conqueſt and diſorganization of the whole univerſe: it ſays to one of its Generals, go and take Rome—and to another, ſally forth and ſubdue Spain—to the end that deſpoiling commiſſioners, ſimilar to thoſe horrid Roman Proconſuls againſt whom Cicero declaimed, may be ſent thither. In the worſt ſeaſon of the year it ſends the only fleet it poſſeſſes into the Mediterranean to ſplit and founder on the rocks of Sardinia, whilſt it expoſes the fleets of Breſt to the fury of the ſtorms, by ſending them in queſt of an Engliſh fleet that has not yet left its port.

In the mean time, a civil war ſpreads through all the departments. Some of the inſurgents are excited by fanaticiſm, the neceſſary effect of perſecution; others by an indignation at the tragical and fruitleſs end of Louis the Sixteenth; and others, finally, by the natural principle of reſiſting perſecution.

Arms are every where taken up; murders every where committed; and every where are pecuniary ſupplies and proviſions intercepted. The Engliſh foment theſe troubles, and will, by their ſuccours, ſupply fuel to them at their pleaſure. Soon will every one of our corſairs diſappear on the ocean; ſoon will the ſouthern department ceaſe to receive ſupplies of corn from Italy and Africa; and already have thoſe from the north and from America been intercepted by the ſquadrons of the enemies. Famine will annex itſelf to all our other ſcourges; and the ferocity of our canibals will but increaſe with our calamities.

Frenchmen! we have a rallying point which can ſtifle the monſter of anarchy: 'tis the conſtitution we ſwore to maintain in 1789, 90, and 91: it is the work of a free people; and we ſhall remain free, and ſhall recover our glory, by reſuming our conſtitution.

Let us diſplay our virtues, more eſpecially that of mildneſs: too much blood has already been ſpilled. If the monſters by whom we have been diſorganized, chuſe to fly, let us leave them to meet their puniſhment elſewhere, if they do not find it in their own corrupted hearts; but if they wiſh to ſupport anarchy by new crimes, then ſhall the army puniſh them.

In the generoſity of the enemies we have ſo grievouſly outraged, I have found the ſecurity of external peace. Not only do they treat humanely and attentively our wounded, ſick, and priſoners, who

fall into their hands—and all this in deſpite of the calumnies ſpread by our agitators to render us ferocious—but they engage to ſuſpend their march, not to paſs our frontiers, and to leave to our brave army the termination of all our internal diſſentions.

Let the ſacred torch of the love of our country awaken in us our virtue and our courage! At the bare name of the conſtitution, civil war will ceaſe, or can no longer exiſt, unleſs againſt certain malevolent men who will no longer be ſupported by foreign powers. Theſe have no hatred to any others among us, except our factious criminals, and deſire nothing more fervently than to reſtore their eſteem and friendſhip to a nation whoſe errors and anarchy diſturb and trouble all Europe. Peace will be the fruit of this reſolution; and the troops of the line, as well as the brave national volunteers, who, for the ſpace of a year, have offered themſelves as willing ſacrifices to liberty, and who abhor anarchy, will repoſe in the boſom of their families, after having accompliſhed this noble work.

As to myſelf, I have already made an oath, and I repeat it before the whole nation, and in the preſence of all Europe, that immediately after having effected the ſafety of my country by the re-eſtabliſhment of the conſtitution, of peace and good order, I ſhall abandon every public function, and ſhall ſeek in ſolitude the enjoyment of the happineſs of my fellow-citizens.

The General in chief of the French army, DUMOURIER.

Baths of St Amand, April 2. 1793.

Prince SAXE COBOURG to the FRENCH.

THE General in chief, Dumourier, has communicated to me his declaration to the French nation. In it I find the ſentiments and principles of a virtuous man, who truly loves his country, and who wiſhes to put an end to the calamities and anarchy by which it is deſolated, by procuring for it the happineſs of a conſtitution, and a wiſe and permanent government. I know this alſo to be the unanimous wiſh of all the ſovereigns whom ſome factious perſons have armed againſt France, and particularly that of his Majeſty the Emperor and his Proſſian Majeſty.

Filled at this moment with eſteem for the bulk of ſo great and generous a nation, by whom the immutable principles of honour and juſtice were held ſacred, until, by the repetition of outrages, diſorders, and impoſtures, that part of it has been eſtranged and corrupted, which, under the maſk of humanity and of patriotiſm, ſpeaks of nothing but aſſaſſination and poignards:

Knowing alſo that this is the wiſh of all virtuous people in France:

Profoundly penetrated with theſe great truths, and deſiring nothing but the proſperity and glory of a country torn by ſo many convulſions and misfortunes:

I declare by the preſent proclamation, that I will ſupport, by all the force in my power, the generous and beneficent intentions of the General in chief, Dumourier, and his brave army.

I declare beſides, that, having lately fought us on ſeveral occaſions as a valiant, intrepid, and generous enemy, I will join a part of my troops, ſhould Gen. Dumourier deſire it, or even all my army, to that of France, to co-operate, as friends and companions in arms, worthy of reciprocal eſteem, ſo as to reſtore to France her conſtitutional King, the conſtitution ſhe has choſen, and, as a neceſſary conſequence, the means of perfecting it, if the nation ſhould find it imperfect; thus to reſtore to France, as well as to the reſt of Europe, peace, confidence, tranquillity, and happineſs. I therefore declare on my word of honour, that I will not enter the territory of France to make conqueſts, but ſimply and purely for the purpoſes above mentioned.

I further declare upon my word of honour, that ſhould the military operations require one or more fortreſſes to be given up to my troops, I will keep them merely as a ſacred truſt; and I engage in the moſt expreſs and poſitive terms, to reſtore them, as ſoon as the government which ſhall be eſtabliſhed in France, or the brave General with whom I am about to make a common cauſe, ſhall demand ſuch a conceſſion. I alſo declare, that I will give the moſt ſtrict orders, and will take the moſt vigorous and effectual meaſures, that my troops ſhall not commit the leaſt diſorder; not allowing the ſmalleſt exaction or violence, and reſpecting every where on the territory of France perſons and property.

Head quarters, Mons, April 5.

[On the 9th the Prince iſſued another declaration, annulling the armiſtice, and announcing his intention to proſecute the war with vigour.]

PAR-

PARLIAMENT.

In the Houſe of Commons, March 25. Mr Sheridan roſe to make his promiſed motion relative to the reform of the royal boroughs in Scotland. A conſiderable part of the grievances ſtated in the petitions and papers before the Houſe had been acknowledged by miniſters, and a bill had been brought in thereon by the Lord Advocate; but the remedy was by no means adequate to the evil. He concluded by moving, that the petitions from the royal boroughs ſhould be referred to a committee of the whole Houſe.

Mr Dundas thought a committee above ſtairs would be better, which was agreed to. The committee conſiſted, among others, of Meſſ. Sheridan, Gray, Dundas, Lambton, Anſtruther, Wilberforce, Col. Macleod, Major Maitland, the Lord Advocate, Lord Mornington, &c.

On April 9. Mr Pitt preſented a meſſage from his Majeſty, requeſting the Houſe to grant a vote of credit for 1,500,000 l. as neceſſary to cover unforeſeen expences, which the Houſe voted next day.

On April 22 Mr Roſe made his promiſed motion for leave to bring in a bill for the encouragement of benefit ſocieties. There were, throughout Great Britain, a conſiderable number of ſocieties for the mutual relief of their members during ſickneſs or old age. The public advantages reſulting from thoſe ſocieties, it was unneceſſary for him to dwell upon; what he had to ſuggeſt to the Houſe was a plan for their encouragement. At preſent they were in an unprotected ſtate; their property was ſubject to various depredations; they uſually entruſted their money to their ſtewards, or to the landlords of the houſes where the ſocieties were held; if thoſe perſons betrayed their truſts, the ſocieties had no remedy: his ſuggeſtion would therefore be, to empower ſocieties to ſue ſuch parties as might be guilty of ſuch breach of truſt; but to prevent any undue advantage being taken of this propoſition, ſhould it paſs into a law, it was his intention to move a clauſe, that no ſociety ſhould be conſidered within the meaning of the act, unleſs the rules thereof had been preſented and approved of by two juſtices of peace at a quarter ſeſſions. He ſhould alſo propoſe that the members of ſocieties ſo approved of, ſhould not be removed for want of a ſettlement, from any pariſh in which they might reſide, until they became chargeable. After having thus ſhortly ſtated the ſubſtance of the bill, he concluded by moving for leave.

Mr Wilberforce ſeconded the motion, and leave was granted. The bill paſſed the Houſe on May 22.

On April 23. in a committee on the government and commerce of India, Mr Dundas ſtated, that in recommending a ſcheme for the future government and commerce of India, he ſhould propoſe meaſures contrary to the opinion of moſt political writers, viz. that the government of India, civil and military, ſhould continue to be exerciſed through the preſent exiſting civil organ, the court of directors of the Eaſt India Company. And with reſpect to the trade, though every writer which he had read, contended that in proportion to the freedom of trade was its chance for proſperity, he ſhould notwithſtanding, recommend the trade of India to be carried on excluſively by the Company. He had heard many propoſitions for opening the trade, and many propoſitions for changing the mode of the government, but his wiſh was to act from, and to be guided by, what he recommended to the Houſe and to the committee, for their guide, experience and practice, in preference to ſpeculation and theory. The ſtake was of too great national importance to be raſhly handled; for the trade of the Company, and its conſequences to the country, he could ſhortly ſtate by authentic documents, and by which it appeared, that at preſent the trade of the Company employed upwards of eighty-one thouſand ton of ſhipping; upwards of ſeven thouſand mariners; that they imported annually into this country raw materials to an amount of more than ſeven hundred thouſand pounds, and exported of our manufactures to more than the amount of a million annually. They paid into the Exchequer not leſs than a million annually for duties, and contributed further to the enriching of the State, by adding to its circulation and capital a million annually, as a tribute from India; to which he ſhould not be beyond the mark if he added a further ſum of five hundred thouſand pounds more as the fortunes the ſervants of the Company annually brought home. In one groſs ſum, he ſaid, he might ſtate it that there were nearly ſeven millions of money ariſing out of, or connected with, the

trade, added thereby to the circulation in this country, and to that increaſe of her capital, which had operated to extend every other branch of her commercial and manufacturing proſperity. The country had ſeen the benefit ariſing to the Company, and to the public through that Company, from the exiſting mode of government—his propoſition would therefore be, to continue that government as it did now exiſt, in the court of directors, ſubject to the board of controul, the King the Sovereign—the Parliament the great ſuperintending guardian—but the inſtrument the Company. Under that government the Company's affairs, for the laſt nine years, had been in one continued progreſſive ſtate of proſperity; it had tended to extend benefits in time of peace, and to give vigour in time of war; it had in the laſt war, unprovoked on our part, enabled the Britiſh arms to add glory and honour to their country, and future ſecurity for the peace and proſperity of her Indian empire. In war or peace the preſent mode of government had been found experimentally effectual—to continue that government, the trade muſt be excluſively given to the Company; for to change the mode of carrying on the trade, it would be neceſſary to go into long inveſtigations to aſcertain the rights the Company might claim to territory and to ſovereignty; and though upon their claim to ſovereignty and to territory he had not a doubt, being fully convinced that they had no ſuch claim, he was averſe to the changing of the mode of trade; as ſuch change muſt of neceſſity bring on the diſcuſſion of thoſe claims which would produce many long delays, and operate to the interruption, if not to the material injury of the trade between this country and India. He was alſo averſe to any change in the government, as the natives of India looked up to the company as the ſovereigns; and as they might deem any change to be an innovation, or uſurpation, he would aſk what man would be bold enough to ſpeculate upon the convulſion ſuch a change might occaſion in the empire of India. To prevent ſuch convulſion was with him a ſtrong motive for continuing things as they were. He was aware that it might be urged, that the preſent mode gave great patronage to the executive power. Upon this he would ſay but a few words, as he ſhould have abundant opportunities, in the progreſs of the buſineſs, to diſcuſs what patronage the executive power did poſſeſs; and in the progreſs of which buſineſs he pledged himſelf to ſtate every ſhare of patronage that had been exerciſed by that power. In every valuable reſpect, he ſaid, the Company had the patronage; to take it out of their hands, and to place it in thoſe of the executive government, would be a meaſure dangerous to the balance of the conſtitution. The exiſting connection, however, between the executive government and the company with reſpect to the patronage was well calculated for every good purpoſe; the Company poſſeſſed that which the government ought not to poſſeſs, and the executive power that which was anſwerable for the important end of good government. There was one trivial alteration, he ſaid he ſhould ſuggeſt, which would be, to extend the powers of the King in his choice of perſons to ſit at the board of controul, ſeats at which were now reſtricted to privy counſellors. He thought it neceſſary, after having thus ſtated what he intended to do, to apologize to the committee for what he did not intend to propoſe. It had been ſuggeſted to him by Lord Cornwallis, that the appointment of Governor-General, and Governors of Preſidencies, ſhould reſt with the King; his reaſon, however, for not propoſing that power was, that the King already poſſeſſed a right to negative any improper perſon that might be choſen by the Company, and that, by this mode of appointment, there would be leſs danger of any miniſter, from being overpreſſed, complying with a requiſition to ſend out a perſon who might afterwards be thought not the fitteſt perſon that might have been choſen. With reſpect, however, to this particular propoſition of the noble Marquis, the Houſe would have the buſineſs again and again before them; and ſhould that propoſition be thought fit to be adopted in the bill, he ſhould not feel himſelf hurt by the Houſe preferring the opinion of the noble Marquis to his opinion.

Having thus gone through the firſt branch of his argument, he proceeded to the ſecond; namely, to the future trade of the Company. The Rt Hon. Gentleman here entered into an hiſtorical ſtatement of the riſe and progreſs of the trade, ſhowing

ſhowing from the earlieſt times the propenſity of every nation to embark in it, and to obtain luxuries from the Eaſt; after which, ſhewing the ſuperiority of the trade carried on at preſent by the Company over that of all former times, he contended, that the Company was the beſt vehicle through which to continue it. Many golden dreams, he ſaid, he knew had been enjoyed upon the idea of having the trade opened; but he was confident that if the trade was opened, thoſe ſpeculative dreamers would be completely diſappointed: for the great diſtance of that country was againſt any lucrative commerce, unleſs carried on upon a large capital, and to a very conſiderable extent. The leading manufactures of this country could not be expected to meet in India a ready market—the nature of the climate, and the dreſs of the natives, was againſt any chance of the extenſion of our woollen manufacture—earthen ware could not be forwarded by exportation to India, as their religious prejudices would prevent a market for that article—and with reſpect to cottons, it was not to be expected that we had ſo far exceeded our maſters in the art of fabricating them, as to be enabled to force an Indian market for our cottons. To ſhew that an idea of competition was ridiculous, he drew the attention of the committee to the competition which had been attempted by foreign countries, and drew a contraſt between their miſerable bad ſucceſs, and the ſplendid ſuperiority of the Britiſh Company. He contended, that the commutation act had, by deſtroying clandeſtine trade, given to the Company a fair chance of diſplaying their ſuperiority. Previous to that act, the tea-ſales annually at the India houſe amounted to about ſix millions of pounds; they amounted now to ſixteen, ſeventeen, or eighteen millions annually. Previous to that act, when the impolicy of the country placed high duties on the import, and enabled foreigners to counteract the fair trade of the Company, Sweden and Denmark employed each ſix or ſeven large ſhips annually; they were now content with one, and that alternately between them. Holland was alſo now content with one, as was Portugal laſt year, but this year had none. Theſe countries had tried a competition, and had failed, which he conceived ought to operate to Britiſh ſpeculators as a warning of the dangers which they might be expoſed to by ſimilar attempts. But to come home for proof of the futility of arguments for an open trade, he referred the committee back to the time of Oliver Cromwell, who had with his ſtrong hand deſtroyed the monopoly, and opened the trade, a meaſure which had alarmed the Dutch Eaſt-India Company, who, under the perſuaſion of the great wiſdom of the Protector, dreaded the meaſure as deſtructive to themſelves. But what was the conſequence? The Dutch went quietly on with their excluſive charter, obtained thoſe valuable poſſeſſions which were the foundation of their ſubſequent power in India, and our trade, which had been opened, went to ruin. The conſequence of which was, that Oliver, though not a man very ready to change his meaſures, in the courſe of three years had the good ſenſe to reſtore the charter he had raſhly deſtroyed. In the reigns of Charles and James the trade was in ſome degree opened, by letters of licence to individuals to carry it on independent of the Company; but every one who had embarked in it had ruined themſelves. He was convinced that the ſame would happen again; and that if the trade was opened to-morrow, the Company would ſpeedily beat every rival out of the world. He ſaid, the principal objections he had heard ſtarted againſt the continuance of the trade to the Company were, that it had a bad effect on their conduct, rendering them not ſufficiently attentive to the import of raw materials for our manufactures; that they neglected to procure means to their ſervants to remit their property home; and that there had been a clandeſtine trade, which carried immenſe profits into the coffers of other countries. In anſwer to theſe objections, he had firſt to obſerve, that the exertions of the Company had been very great, both for the encouragement of the importation of raw materials, and for the exportation of our manufactures. In the courſe of the three laſt years, it would be found that the annual export of manufactures had amounted to a million Sterling, and the import of raw materials to 700,000 l. With reſpect to their backwardneſs in permitting the remiſſion of the fortunes of their ſervants to this country, that was a legiſlative error, for the legiſlature had limited the amount yearly to be ſent, but that limitation was now removed.

With reſpect to the wiſhes of manufacturers and merchants to attempt an increaſed

creaſed import and export, he had a propoſition to meet thoſe wiſhes, which was for the Company to provide ſhipping at a moderate freight for exportation of manufactures, and for the importation of raw materials, on the account of individuals, which would give manufacturers an opportunity of ſupplying themſelves, and which would at once deſtroy all contraband trade. It would be a meaſure in his opinion uniting the intereſt of the Company with the intereſt of the public —it would bring the whole trade of India to the port of London—it would render us the emporium of the Eaſt, pour the wealth of the Ganges into the Thames, and add to the wealth, to the opulence, to the trade, and to the ſtrength of the whole Britiſh empire. The Right Hon. Gentleman obſerved, that as he ſhould have future opportunities of enlarging on the ſubject, he would not now trouble the committee with any motion. He held the propoſitions in his hand which he ſhould hereafter propoſe to the Houſe; he intended to make them as public as poſſible, and on Monday to move them, after which he ſhould propoſe to have the buſineſs proceeded with day by day until it ſhould be concluded.

Mr Francis expreſſed his diſapprobation of the intended plan of the government being in the hands of a trading company; the powers of government and trade being incompatible with each other. He had no objection to the trade being confined to the Company, but wiſhed them to go back to their original ſituation of merchants, in which character they flouriſhed more than in their modern character of ſovereigns.

Col. Macleod expreſſed a hope that ſome mode would be adopted to prevent all future miſunderſtandings between the King's and Company's troops in India.

Gen. Smith approved of the whole plan ſuggeſted by the Rt Hon. Secretary.

After ſeveral obſervations in reply and explanation, the committee was ordered to ſit again.

Mr Sheridan, April 25. roſe to make his promiſed motion relating to Lord Auckland's memorial, dated April 5. to the States General, ſee p. 220. This memorial, he ſaid, was void of dignity, and by its ſcurrility diſgraceful to the nation. Mr Sheridan admitted the right of England and Holland to determine, as they did by memorials in September, to refuſe aſylum or refuge to thoſe who might commit that act which had been every where lamented: by thoſe memorials, however, no idea had been expreſſed of ſeizing or puniſhing perſons guilty of any crime in France. Matters remained in that way until chance put five commiſſioners into the hands of the Auſtrians. The memorial of the 5th was the conſequence of the poſſeſſion of thoſe commiſſioners, who were termed deteſtable regicides within the reach of the law, and was in fact a recommendation to have them aſſaſſinated. This appeared to him to be of a nature calculated to produce more horrid and deteſtable conſequences than any act ever before committed. If we were to conſider ourſelves at war with France, we ought to conduct that war, whoever might rule in France, and by whatever means they might have obtained the power, in the ſame manner as we ſhould conduct a war againſt any other country in Europe. If we were to act upon ſuch principles as muſt have led to the production of this memorial, we might as well ſpeak out at once boldly, offer a price for the head of every Frenchman—treat their rulers as conſpirators—their armies as banditties, their navy as pirates, and hunt them as wolves. Was ſuch the intention of miniſters? If it was, let them ſpeak out—the people of England ought to know the real grounds and objects of the war—the truth ought to be told them, that they might ſee for what they were expending their blood and treaſure. He reprobated Lord Auckland's memorial alſo becauſe it ſhut out all proſpect of peace, and which, if not diſavowed, was calculated to add to the horrors of war, by reviving that ſanguinary and horrid ſpirit which had characterized the wars of diſtant and leſs civilized ages. He concluded by moving an addreſs to his Majeſty, acquainting him, that the ſaid miniſter, in making this declaration, has departed from the principles upon which this Houſe was induced to concur in the meaſures neceſſary for the ſupport of the war, &c.

Mr Grey ſeconded the motion.

Mr Pitt ſaid the motion went to attack and cenſure not the Noble Lord, but the profeſſions and ſentiments of the King, approved of and echoed by that Houſe and the nation. The motion ſtated a departure from avowed principles; but he denied any ſuch departure, and defied a proof to be advanced of ſuch departure by any word or ſentiment contained in this memorial. It did not recommend, under any poſſible conſtruction, the execution of

any

any perſon. The ſentence that they may come under the ſword of the law could not have been written by Lord Auckland in the ſenſe it was explained by Mr Sheridan, nor had the Dutch acted upon it in that ſenſe; its obvious meaning was, that thoſe perſons who had been delivered over to the Auſtrians might, by being in their hands, be brought to juſtice, upon ſucceſs attending the plans of Dumourier and the progreſs of the Auſtrians, by which a counter-revolution might have been reckoned upon, though as he had thought too haſtily, and by which counter-revolution a tribunal might have been eſtabliſhed in France for the purpoſe of bringing to juſtice all thoſe perſons who might have been concerned in the murder of the King. In that fair ſenſe of the Memorial there was not any thing new, or contrary to the law of nations—Upon an occaſion ſomewhat ſimilar in this country, a Britiſh ambaſſador at the Hague applied for the delivery of certain regicides. The regicides were delivered up, tried in this country, and in this country they were executed. One of the views of the Hon. Gentleman appeared to be, to induce the country to give up the co-operation with other powers which might aid us in repelling ſucceſsfully an unjuſt war, becauſe thoſe powers had been guilty of acts of aggrandiſement and ambition which he was far from approving, as acts of injuſtice and violence were to him as odious when offered by crowned heads as by republics. The aggrandiſement of thoſe powers, however, was at a diſtance, and the danger not equally preſſing upon us with that aggrandiſement attempted by France, and by her war commenced againſt us, which was aimed at the vitals of the conſtitution.—It was not his wiſh to treat with thoſe who now exerciſed the power in France, nor could it be the wiſh of any man; but ſhould there be a neceſſity for treating with them, there was not any thing that precluded it. The objects of the war were to reduce the power of France, to obtain indemnity for the neceſſity forced upon us of war, and to obtain future ſecurity for ourſelves and the reſt of Europe.

Several others ſpoke, and the motion was negatived, there being for it 36, againſt it 211.

On April 29. the Lord Mayor brought up the report of the ſelect committee to whom the ſtate of commercial credit was referred, ſee p. 209.

Mr Pitt moved that it be referred to a committee of the whole Houſe, and to be printed.

Mr Jekyl ſaid, that the melancholy report which he had juſt heard read, was the "knell of departed commerce." The reſult of the circulation of the paper of private banks, was a ſubject to which the attention of the Houſe had been called two years back. It was then predicted that it would be ruinous to the country. Adminiſtration was deaf to the prediction, and refuſed to inſtitute an inquiry into the evil. He felt for the ſituation of the merchants and manufacturers, but he dreaded that the report on the table would not be the only misfortune that would ariſe from the preſent unpopular war.

Mr Fox ſaid, it was not clear that the plan would afford the relief held out by the committee; and, whether as a matter of neceſſity, or a meaſure for future precedents, it was contrary to the approved principles of common policy. As to the war being the cauſe of the preſent calamities, it was a ſubject on which, without proof, he was not prepared to decide; but there was an unfortunate coincidence in the events, that gave him reaſon to conjecture that the war was in a great meaſure the cauſe of the preſent general diſtreſs that prevailed. There was much danger in ſuffering the preſent plan to be adopted; by agreeing to theſe reſolutions, the Houſe gave an unlimited power to the board to ſelect ſuch objects as may ſtrengthen the hands of the miniſter, and give him the ſole controul over the commerce of the nation. He conceived, by endowing any ſet of men whatever with powers that may be exerciſed in an inordinate degree, that parliament was departing from its functions. He thought that the bank of England ſhould come forward at this juncture, and not parliament. He hoped to ſee the Houſe act with vigilance and jealouſy on the occaſion, for it was a precedent at which the liberties of the country and its conſtitution muſt tremble; and it was a truth not only evinced by theory but fact, that commerce always flouriſhed in proportion as it was unconnected with government.

Mr Pitt perfectly coincided with the general principles advanced by Mr Fox upon the danger and importance of an intervention

intervention on the part of government with matters of trade: but contended, that there might arife, as in the preſent inſtance, caſes of extreme danger and difficulty, which would fully juſtify ſuch intervention.

Mr Grey reprobated the meaſure, as unconſtitutional, and dangerous to the liberty of the country.

Mr Thornton ſaid, the bank had, at firſt, afforded all the aſſiſtance demanded upon good bills of exchange, and had only ſtopt their hand, upon the impoſſibility of meeting the rapid and increaſed demand.

The report was referred to a committee of the whole Houſe.

On May 1. Mr Pitt preſented the commercial credit bill, enabling his Majeſty to order the iſſuing of five millions of exchequer bills for aiding commercial credit. It received the royal aſſent on May 8.

The following are the commiſſioners of the board for granting relief to the merchants: Lord Sheffield, Sir Grey Cooper, W. Pulteney, R. M. T. Chiſwell, Sir John Sinclair, Bt, Ald. Anderſon, Meſſ. Smith, Boſanquet, Boddington, Manning, Whitmore, Baring. R. Barclay, Raikes, Darrel, Forſter, C. Grant, Brogden, G. Innes, and Harman.

On April 23. the Houſe reſolved into a committee to conſider of a motion from the Lord Advocate of Scotland for a repeal of the act of William III. which diſabled perſons profeſſing the Catholic religion in Scotland from holding lands. The noble Lord, in a ſhort ſpeech, dwelt upon the hardſhip and injuſtice of the exiſting law, which enabled the diſtant Proteſtant heir to any eſtate, to take it from the Catholic poſſeſſor, unleſs that poſſeſſor renounced the religion he profeſſed, which might have been the religion of his anceſtors for ages. He inſtanced a caſe which was now pending, in which a Roman Catholic of high reſpectability, in poſſeſſion of an eſtate of upwards of a thouſand a-year, which has been poſſeſſed by himſelf and family more than a century and an half, was at iſſue with a Proteſtant diſtant heir, and in which ſuit the ultimate probability was, that the old gentleman would be deprived of that which he poſſeſſed from his anceſtors, or be compelled to renounce his religion. The learned Lord obſerved, that the object of his bill would go to remove the hard exiſting law, and to enable the Roman Catholics to hold lands upon a ſimilar oath of allegiance to that which was inſerted in the Roman Catholic bill of the laſt year. He concluded by moving that the Chairman be directed to move for leave to bring in the ſaid bill.

Col. Macleod gave the motion his warm approbation, and hoped a proviſion might be made to meet the hard caſe ſtated by the noble Lord. He added a wiſh that the bill had gone farther than was propoſed, and that it extended to the Roman Catholics of Scotland all the indulgencies which the Iriſh Parliament had granted to the Catholics of Ireland.

The queſtion being agreed to, and the Houſe reſumed, Lord Frederick Campbell, the chairman of the committee, moved for leave to bring in the bill; which motion was carried *nem. con.* and the bill afterwards agreed to.

This bill was read a firſt time in the Houſe of Lords May 7.

May 14. On the clauſe which enacts, That every perſon profeſſing the Roman Catholic religion within Scotland, who ſhall have taken and ſubſcribed the oath of abjuration and declaration therein expreſſed, and in the manner thereby directed and required, ſhall be as fully enabled to take by deſcent, purchaſe, or otherwiſe, and to hold, enjoy, alien, ſettle, and diſpoſe of any real or perſonal property whatſoever within Scotland, as any other perſon or perſons whoſoever, &c. the Duke of Norfolk ſaid, that there ſeemed every reaſon to give to the Catholics of Scotland, the ſame rights and privileges which had been very properly allowed to the Catholics of a neighbouring kingdom (Ireland). They were as good and loyal ſubjects as any in his Majeſty's dominions, and were ready to proteſs themſelves to be ſo, in the ſtrongeſt poſſible manner, by the oath required by the preſent bill: he would therefore move as an amendment to the clauſe, that Catholic Commoners, having a legal qualification, ſhould have a right to vote for members of parliament, and that Catholic Peers ſhould have a right to vote at elections of Peers in Scotland.

The Lord Chancellor ſtated, that Roman Catholics in Scotland were under no legal diſability, that he knew of, to give their votes; but that certain oaths were neceſſary, and required by different ſtatutes to be taken, by all perſons whatever, previous to their voting at elections, which

which would prevent perſons profeſſing the Roman Catholic religion from exerciſing that right. And as this bill was intended for, and would anſwer a good purpoſe, and afford great relief, at the ſame time, that it was totally unconnected with any regulation of the law of elections, and could not, of courſe, go to repeal the ſtatutes he had mentioned, ſo far as reſpected the oaths thereby required, he hoped the noble Duke would agree to withdraw his motion for the amendment.

The Earl of Stanhope profeſſed himſelf an enemy to all diſabilities on account of religious principles, but joined in wiſhing the noble Duke to withdraw his motion, which he thought would not anſwer the purpoſe intended, and was not the right way of doing the thing.—The Duke of Norfolk withdrew his motion. The bill went through the committee without any amendments.—This bill received the royal aſſent on June 3.

May 6. A great number of petitions were preſented to the Houſe of Commons, praying a reform, which were ordered to lie on the table.

Mr Grey then preſented a petition to the ſame effect with the others, from certain perſons whoſe names were thereunto ſubſcribed.

It appeared to be an abſtract of the report of the committee of the ſociety of the *Friends of the People*, on the conſtitution of the Houſe of Commons. It ſtated the alledged defects in the repreſentation, and the diſparity between the number of real electors and the people at large; the inequality of the territorial repreſentation, &c. and the inſufficiency of the whole to ſecure to the people their due weight in the legiſlature, from which grievances had ariſen, &c.

Mr Grey recapitulated ſome of the details of the petition, and argued therefrom, with much energy and force, the good policy and neceſſity of a timely and effectual reform in the conſtitution of the Houſe of Commons, and recited ſeveral paſſages in the hiſtory of latter times, which, he ſaid, evinced that the Houſe were not the real repreſentatives, nor ſpoke the ſenſe of the people—his fervent wiſh was, to ſee the conſtitution in practice, what it was in theory; and to this great and deſirable end he conjured the Houſe to direct its endeavours, in the ſucceſs of which, he ſaid, conſidered the intereſt, the honour, and the happineſs of their country. He concluded with moving, "That the petition be referred to the conſideration of a committee."

Mr Pitt ſaid, the petitions went either to raiſe diſcontent without pointing out a practical remedy, or elſe to the dangerous ſyſtem of univerſal repreſentation. When he had himſelf come forward on this ſubject, he had brought with him a ſpecific remedy for the grievance. With the difference between times, in addition to his other reaſons, he could not now lend himſelf to a general propoſition, in which every thing was blended and confounded; which explained no view, and which may be ſuppoſed to embrace the wildeſt ſpeculation. Mr Grey was certainly right in his definitions of the right of repreſentation, but his notions of expediency were ſuch as to juſtify even the moſt extravagant concluſions.

Mr Fox ſaid, he diſliked perſonal repreſentation, as he conſidered it to be at once viſionary and impolitic. The events in France had produced no new aggravation of the danger to be apprehended from a moderate reform, but had rather made it leſs, in as much as the example of the effects of univerſal repreſentation in that unhappy country, had brought it into diſcredit in the mind of every thinking man. He proceeded to examine the queſtion, Whether or not the Houſe of Commons, as now conſtituted, was adequate for the purpoſes for which it was intended? He examined the conduct of the Houſe of Commons, from the commencement of the American war to the preſent time, from which he ſhewed it was not reſtrained by the Crown, the Peers, or the People, as it ought, and was, conſequently, inadequate, to the ſtation it ſhould hold in the conſtitution, and the ſecurity of true liberty.

He concluded with obſerving, that the motion now before the Houſe was not to pull down, but to work upon our conſtitution; to examine it with care and reverence; to repair it where decayed; to prop it where it wanted ſupport; to adapt it to the purpoſes of the preſent time, as our anceſtors had done from generation to generation, and always tranſmitted it, not only unimpaired, but improved, to their poſterity.—The Houſe divided, Ayes 282, Noes 41.

NEW BOOKS.

The Old Manor Houſe. A Novel By Charlotte Smith. 12mo. 4 vols. 14 s. ſewed. Bell, *Oxford ſtreet.*

MRS Smith's talents for novel writing are already well known to the public, and we have had repeated occaſions to acknowledge her merit in this ſpecies of compoſition. It is therefore the leſs neceſſary to undertake an elaborate examination of the preſent work: The following is a brief outline of its plan.

The principal ſcene of the tale is one of thoſe ſpacious ancient halls, or manor-houſes, which fill the warm imagination with romantic ideas, and which at once invite and favour adventure. The poſſeſſor of the manſion is an ancient maiden lady, the ſole heireſs of a great family. A favourite kinſman, a youth of ſeventeen, whoſe family reſides in the neighbourhood, is permitted to viſit the hall, and when winter arrives, to ſleep in a little tapeſtry room, next to the old library, in a wing of the houſe far remote from the diviſion inhabited by the female part of the family. The confidential ſervant, or companion of the old lady, had been permitted to take into the houſe an orphan niece, nearly of the ſame age with the young hero of the tale, and the apartment allotted to her is in a turret which terminates one wing of the houſe. This young pair, Orlando and Monimia, who find opportunities for frequent interviews, entertain a tender and innocent attachment for each other. The principal buſineſs of the piece is to exhibit the embarraſſments which attend their concealed paſſion during Orlando's reſidence at home, and the difficulties and diſtreſſes through which they afterward paſs. The main plot is diverſified with many collateral occurrences, which all contribute to give unity to the whole. The narrative, if not in every particular guided by probability, is however too well filled up with incident to ſuffer the reader's attention to flag. The characters are drawn with ſtrength and diſcrimination, and ſpeak their own appropriate language.

This novel particularly contains many very ſucceſsful imitations of the ordinary language of people in different claſſes of the inferior ranks, which may in ſome inſtances remind the reader of that great painter of manners, Henry Fielding. Several humorous ſcenes in higher life are alſo repreſented; and from theſe we ſhall ſelect a part of the account of a public dinner at Rayland hall.

"The whole houſe was in a buſtle—and Mrs Rayland not only in unuſual health, but as anxious for the ſplendour and excellence of her entertainment, as if ſhe had a deeper deſign than merely to outſhine the newer elegancies of Carloraine caſtle. All the operations of Mrs Lennard and her attendants ſucceeded happily. By half after two all the gueſts were aſſembled: by half after three all the tables groaned under the weight of veniſon and beef. About ſeventy people were aſſembled in the hall. In the dining-parlour the party conſiſted of General Tracy, who was placed at Mrs Lennard's right hand; on her left Mrs Hollybourn, the wife of the archdeacon of that diſtrict, a lady of a moſt preciſe, and indeed formidable demeanour: oppoſite to her, and next to Mrs Somerive, ſat the Doctor himſelf, a dignified clergyman, of profound erudition, very ſevere morals, and very formal manners; who was the moſt orthodox of men, never ſpoke but in ſentences equally learned and indiſputable, and held almoſt all the reſt of the world in as low eſtimation as he conſidered highly his own family, and above all himſelf.

Between her mother and Mr Somerive, on the other ſide, was placed their only daughter and heireſs, Miſs Ann-Jane-Eliza Hollybourn, who, equally reſembling her father and her mother, was the pride and delight of both: poſſeſſing ſomething of each of their perſonal perfections, ſhe was conſidered by them a model of lovelineſs; and her mind was adorned with all that money could purchaſe. The wainſcot complexion of her mamma was ſet off by the yellow eye-brows and hair of the Doctor. His little pug noſe, diveſted of its mulberry hue, which, on the countenance of his daughter, was pronounced to be *le petit nez retrouſſé*, united with the thin lips drawn up to make a little mouth, which were peculiar to "his better half," as he facetiouſly called his wife. The worthy archdeacon's ſhort legs detracted leſs from the height of his amiable daughter, as ſhe had the long waiſt of her mother, fine ſugar-loaf ſhoulders, that were pronounced to be *extremely genteel*, and a head which looked as if the back of it had by ſome accident been flattened, ſince it formed a perpendicular

dicular line with her back. To dignify with mental acquirements this epitome of human loveliness, all that education could do had been lavished; masters for drawing, painting, music, French, and dancing, had been assembled around her as soon as she could speak; she learned Latin from her father at a very early period, and could read any easy sentence in Greek; was learned in astronomy, knew something of the mathematics, and in relief of these more abstruse studies, read Italian and Spanish. Having never heard any thing but her own praises, she really believed herself a miracle of knowledge and accomplishments; and it must be owned, that an audience less partial than those before whom she generally performed, might have allowed that she performed very long concertos, and solos without end, with infinite correctness, and much execution. Then she made most inveterate likenesses of many of her acquaintance; and painted landscapes, where very green trees were reflected in very blue water. Her French was most grammatically correct, though the accent was somewhat defective; and she knew all manner of history—could tell the dates of the most execrable actions of the most execrable of human beings—and never had occasion to consult, so happy was her memory, Trusler's Chronology. As it was believed, so it was asserted by the Doctor and his wife, that their daughter was the most accomplished woman of her age and country; and by most of their acquaintance it was taken for granted. The gentlemen, however, whom all these elegancies were probably designed to attract, seemed by no means struck with them: some of them, who had approached her on the suggestion of her being an heiress, had declared that her fortune made no amends for her want of beauty; and others had been alarmed by the acquisitions which went so much beyond those they had made themselves. Thus, at six-and-twenty (though the lady and her parents, for some reasons of their own, called her no more than twenty-two,) Miss Hollybourn was yet unmarried! for, of those lovers who had offered, some had been rejected by the Doctor, and some by herself. She affected a great indifference, and talked of the pleasures of pursuing knowledge in an elegant retirement. But it was observed, that whenever any young men of present fortune, or future expectation, were in the country, Dr Hollybourn's family returned the visits of the ladies to whom these gentlemen belonged, with unusual punctuality.

While they were in this part of the world, they always dined once or twice at Rayland Hall, where the Doctor was well received as a most pious worthy man, his lady a very good kind of woman, and Miss as a mighty pretty sort of a young person. Of late the whole family had risen into higher favour; for the Doctor was the only clergyman in the country around who had resisted the good entertainment so profusely given at Carloraine castle, and had refused to visit a man who kept a mistress. He had even gone farther, and preached a sermon which all his congregation said pointed immediately at Mr Stockton; but as Mr Stockton did not hear it, and having heard it would not have cared for it, the reproof only edified his hearers, and raised the Doctor in the esteem of the lady of the hall.

The lower part of the table was filled by the four Miss Somerives and their two brothers; Orlando, at the request of Mrs Rayland, taking his seat at the bottom.

The plenty and excellence of the table, which was furnished almost entirely from the park, farm, warren, gardens, and ponds of Rayland Hall, were highly commended by the guests, and by none with more zeal than the General and the Doctor, who vied with each other in applying that sort of flattery of which their venerable hostess was most susceptible. The General spoke in terms of the highest respect of her ancient family, and of the figure made in history by the name of Rayland. The Doctor, while he did justice to the excellent dishes before him, launched out in very sincere praise of the domain which produced them: the beautiful park, which, he averred, fed the very best venison in the country; the woods abounding in game; the extensive ponds, whose living streams contained all manner of fish; the rich meadows below, that fatted such exquisite beef; the fine sheep-walks on the downs above, which sent to table mutton that rivalled the Welch mutton itself!—then, such gardens for fruit! such convenient poultry yards!—Mrs Rayland, who loved to hear her place praised, could have listened to such eulogiums for ever; and seemed totally to have forgotten that, according

cording to the courſe of nature, ſhe ſhould be miſtreſs of theſe good things but a very little time longer, and that, when a little ſpace in the chancel of the adjoining church would be all ſhe could occupy, they muſt paſs into the poſſeſſion of another."

The reader is not to infer, from this ſpecimen, that the novel is entirely, nor chiefly, of the humorous kind. In many parts it is ſentimental; ſometimes, though not frequently, it becomes pathetic; and once or twice, but very ſparingly, political ideas and opinions are introduced, and the author takes occaſion to expreſs that generous ſpirit of freedom, which is diſplayed more at large in her "Deſmond." In fine, though we cannot ſay that we think the preſent novel ſuperior to thoſe which Mrs S has formerly produced, yet it diſcovers, in a conſiderable degree, facility of invention, knowledge of life, and command of language. *Month. Rev.*

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——More truth is to be collected from the preſent ſerious inveſtigations, than from occaſional party writings. M.

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Thoughts on the cauſes of the preſent failures. 8vo. 6 d. *Johnſon.*—Various are the theories that have been offered to account for the late derangement of commercial credit, which, to a degree unknown in the annals of the world, has overſpread this lately thriving country, and has wonderfully diminiſhed in value the whole maſs of property, fixed and circulating, which it contains:—an anihilation of wealth for which the conqueſt of Mexico were no indemnity. Bankruptcy has ſtalked acroſs the land, ſilencing the buſy hum of the exchange, furling the ſails of commerce, ſtopping the machines of manufacture,

faſture, condemning to hopeleſs excommunication from the circles of opulence numbers of the inhabitants of palaces, and to the ſqualid penury of an alms houſe multitudes of induſtrious poor. Nor can it ſtop here; the fainter echo of this craſh muſt yet vibrate back from the ſea-ports of Europe and America.—It is natural that an event ſo melancholy ſhould by many be harſhly explained. With one, it is the political intolerance of the monied intereſt, a conſpiracy to ruin democratic tradeſmen, which influenced the firſt refuſals to diſcount bills, and occaſioned the conſequent dearth of ready money. With a ſecond, it is the ſudden abſorption of capital for the public ſervice; in which caſe a commercial nation can never break the peace to advantage, unleſs it have in hand a great ſurplus of hard treaſure. With a third, it is the baſe jealouſy of rival traders, a cry raiſed by thoſe powerful companies whoſe paper-money is valid, to overwhelm the upſtart banks, which were planting themſelves in every market-town. With a fourth, credit is liable to periodical diſeaſes, and this is one of them; timed indeed by the alarm, but not reſulting from it. With a fifth, multiplicity of affairs being among commercial men the criterion of conſequence, and trade being more honourable than leiſure, many of our merchants and manufacturers are ſuppoſed to carry it on with a regular loſs, and the conſequent defalcation of property is occaſionally to be aſſeſſed on the whole community by diffuſive failures. With a ſixth, it is no extraordinary criſis, but a ſymptom of proſperity; and, if embarraſſments be in 1793 a hundred fold more numerous than heretofore, it only proves that our commerce has increaſed a hundred fold.—The writer of the pamphlet before us, with views more acute and comprehenſive, analyſes the prediſpoſing cauſes in our commercial ſituation, which prepared this cataſtrophe, in order to prove that, if the war had not ariſen, they would have had no neceſſary tendency thus to operate.—The author concludes his elegant ſpeculation, by recommending a ſpeedy peace as the only palliative which our ſituation will admit. The attentive readers of this pamphlet, will probably agree with us in claſſing the writer among the moſt ingenious and penetrating of our political pamphleteers; and in all wiſh him the merit of applying his talents to objects of public utility, and of the higheſt importance to the community. M.

A ſelection from the Harleian miſcellany, of tracts which principally regard the Engliſh hiſtory; of which many are referred to by Hume. 4to. 1l. 1s. boards. *Kearſley.*

The military magazine. To be continued every three months. ſmall 12mo. 5s. ſewed. *Egerton, &c.*

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Elements of chemiſtry, in a new ſyſtematic order, containing all the modern diſcoveries—With 13 copperplates. By M. Lavoiſier. Tranſlated from the French of the laſt improved Paris edition, with the approbation of the author, by Robert Kerr, F. R. & A. S. S. Edin. 8vo. 9s boards. Edit. 2. With notes, tables, and conſiderable additions. *Creech.*

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The

The following lines, written at Florence by Mr Thomas Walter, were addreſſed (during their reſidence in that city) to the Ducheſs of Devonſhire, Lady Duncannon, and Lady Eliſabeth Foſter.

[An Engliſh Gentleman paſſing through Florence, has been unable to reſiſt expreſſing his admiration at the happy concurrence of circumſtances which ought long to conſtitute the boaſt of this elegant city. The three ladies to whom the incloſed juſt tribute of homage is addreſſed, are intreated to accept it as the incenſe of truth rather than as the language of poetry, and to forgive the intruſion of one (never a poet by profeſſion) who has dedicated an hour to the moſt delightful —perhaps the moſt honourable of all employments—the celebration of whatever is fair, good, and great—of beauties who merit a ſuperior bard, though they can never command a more fervent admirer.]

Florence, Feb. 23. 1793.

HAIL, favour'd Florence! where each trav'ller views
The conſecrated ſeat of ev'ry Muſe.
While o'er the world unletter'd darkneſs hung,
Here Painting flouriſh'd, and here Dante ſung.
Here patient Sculpture early taught "to trace
The ling'ring line, and mould the tardy grace:"
The lib'ral Arts with added luſtre roſe,
And grateful Science wak'd from long repoſe.
Hail, favour'd Florence!—once the hallow'd place
Of ev'ry Muſe—and now of ev'ry grace.
Superior glories here the ſtranger charm,
Superior boaſts th' admiring natives warm.
Riſe, Muſes, riſe, and ſing in welcome ſtrain
The ſplendid æra of this Golden Reign!
Preſumptuous hope! each Muſe deſpairing flies,
Nor decks the triumph of all-conqu'ring eyes;
Aw'd by reſiſtleſs beauties they remove,
And yield the palm of Poetry to Love.
Here ſhine thoſe forms, which in the Painter's breaſt
Kindle the glow of genius half ſuppreſt,
Rouſe in the lab'ring ſculptor fond deſire,
And grant to ſtubborn ſtone Promethean fire.
With theſe each faſcinating grace combines
True taſte, that ſentiment and ſenſe refines.
Magic perfection! by whoſe juſt decrees,
Wit, pleaſure, knowledge, virtue, learn to pleaſe;
That charm which lends to Love his ſureſt art,
That brighteſt poliſh of his keenneſt dart,
Which beams (thro' all the levity of youth)
The life of beauty and the teſt of truth.
Here they acknowledge, in ſome tend'rer hour,
Soft Senſibility's engaging power;
The ſympathetic ſoul, the liquid eye,
The throbbing boſom, and the plaintive ſigh!
The ſigh that each imperious ſpirit warms,
The breeze of paſſion undiſturb'd by ſtorms;
Which, tempering ev'ry tone of fiercer love,
Ev'n ſages bleſs, and cynics muſt approve.
Here, too, the Graces in each look diſplay
Th' enliv'ning temper voluble and gay,
The ſprightly phraſe, the unaffected ſmile,
The arch alluſion and the tranſient wile;
The ſly remark that in the mem'ry plays,
Which fancy dictates, and which judgement ſways;
Good ſenſe that guides the ever-yielding face
To laugh with elegance, or weep with grace;
To point with delicacy gentle jeſts,
To calm the tumult of ingenuous breaſts;
To dart the vivid pleaſantry around,
To ſpare with candour or with ſkill to wound;
More glorious, more admir'd, more lov'd, more fit,
Than all the flaſhing fire of radiant wit.
Such are the gifts the youthful graces ſhew,
Gifts that Aonian Maids could ne'er beſtow;
Such is the blandiſhment, and ſuch the charm,
Which empire, wealth, and wit, and worth, diſarm;
Which boaſt a pow'r—a pow'r that all confeſs,
Which rule, exalt, inſpire, adorn, and bleſs.
Thus, in their native forms, the Graces* ſhine,
And rival, with ſucceſs, the tuneful nine:
Nor crave, from fiction or from fabling fame,
The learn'd diſguiſe of a ſcholaſtic name.
Hail, favour'd Florence! once the hallow'd place
Of every Muſe, and now of every Grace.

The DESERTERS, *a Tale.*

By Anthony Paſquin, Eſq;

THEY, who imagine all are loſt that ſtray,
Are, at the beſt, but cogitators blind:
Believe ſuch doctrine comfortleſs who may:
Though Fortune's ſkittiſh, yet ſhe's often kind.
A Britiſh regiment in a keen ſang'd froſt,
In Canada's rough clime, in eighty two,
Had ſix baſe privates, who forſook their poſt
To join the rebel crew!
To bring the recreant deſperadoes back,
A ſerjeant was diſpatch'd; [Whack,
A Connaught ſpalpeen, chriſten'd Paddy
Whoſe brogue or blunderings were never match'd.
After ſome galling marches, that diſtreſs'd 'em,
He overtook the party, and addreſs'd 'em:
Are ye not pretty fellows, anſwer true,
To quit your colours, and your comrades too?
Now how, like dogs ye hang your heads and mutter!
What! would ye quarrel with your bread and butter!
You've ſold your arms, no doubt, for caſh, and ſpent it,
But, by the Hill of Howth, you'll all repent it:
I'll tell the King what raſcals he has got,
Damme you'll firſt be try'd, and then be ſhot.
But now to buſineſs: I'll be ſhort and clear,
I've twenty men in ambuſh, in the rear,
Will cut ye, every mother's ſon, in three,
Unleſs you inſtantly return with me.

* *Devon, Duncannon, Foſter.*

The Soldiers, to revolt but half inclin'd,
After ſome potent ſtruggles of the mind,
Unanimouſly went,
With Pat, the ſerjeant, to the colonel's tent,
On promiſe of forgiveneſs from the throne.—
Thus the commander to the ſerjeant ſpoke,
(After he'd chid the culprits and confounded em,)
How, Paddy, could you take ſix men alone?
How take 'em! ſaid the ſerjeant, that's a joke,
By Peter's keys, your honour, I *ſurrounded 'em.*

ODE *to* INNOCENCE.

From Peter Pindar's Epiſtle *to the* Pope.

O Nymph of meek and bluſhful mien,
Lone wand'rer of the rural ſcene,
Who loveſt not the City's buſtling ſound,
But in the ſtill and ſimple vale
Art pleas'd to hear the Turtle's tale,
'Mid the gay minſtrelsy that floats around!

Now on the bank, amid the ſunny beam,
I ſee thee mark the natives of the ſtream,
That break the dimpling ſurface with delight;
Now ſee thee pitying a poor captive fly,
Snapp'd from the lov'd companions of his joy,
And, ſwallow'd, ſink beneath the gulph of night.

Now ſee thee, in the humming golden hour,
Obſervant of the bee from flow'r to flow'r,
That loads with varied balm his little thighs,
To guard againſt chill winter's famiſh'd day,
When rains deſcend and clouds obſcure the ray, [ſkies.
And tempeſts pour their thunder through the

Now ſee thee happy, with the ſweeteſt ſmile,
Attentive ſtretch'd along the fragrant ſoil;
Beholding the ſmall myriads of the plain,
The pismires, ſome upon their ſunny hills,
Some thirſty wand'ring to the cryſtal rills,
Some loaded bringing back the ſnowy grain;

So live the lab'ring ſwains who yet look down
Contemptuous on their toils and tiny town!
Now ſee the playful chace the child of ſpring,
The winnowing Butterfly with painted wing,
That buſy flutters on from bloom to bloom;

Purſuing wildly now a fav'rite fair,
Circling amid the golden realm of air,
And leaving, all for love, the pea's perfume.
Now ſee thee peeping on the ſecret neſt,
Where ſits the parent Wren in patient reſt,
While at her ſide her feather'd partner ſings,
Chaunts his ſhort note, to charm her nurſing
Now for his loves purſues his airy way, [day:
And now with food returns on cheerful wings.

Pleas'd could I ſit with thee, O nymph ſo ſweet,
And hear the happy flocks around thee bleat,
And mark their ſkipping ſports along the land,
Now hear thee to a fav'rite lambkin ſpeak,
Who wanton ſtretches forth his woolly neck,
And plucks the fragrant herbage from thy hand.

Thus could I dwell with thee for many an hour:
Yet, ſhould a rural Venus from her bow'r
Step forth with boſom bare, and beaming eye,
And flaxen locks, luxuriant roſe-clad cheek,
And purple lip, and dimpled chin ſo ſleek,
And archly heave the love ſeducing ſigh,
And cry, "Come hither, ſwain—be not afraid,
Embrace the wild, and quit the ſimple maid"—
I verily believe that I ſhould go:
Yet parting, ſhould I ſay to thee, "Farewell,
I cannot help it, Witchcraft's in her cell,
The Paſſions like to be where tempeſts blow.
Go, girl, enjoy thy fiſh, and flies, and doves:
But ſuffer me to giggle with the Loves."

Thus ſhould I act—excuſe me, charming Saint:
An imp am I, in Virtue's cauſe ſo faint,
Like David in his youth, a lawleſs ſwain!
Preferring (let me own with bluſhing face)
The ſtorms of Paſſion to the calms of Grace:
One ounce of pleaſure to a pound of pain.

On the order of Sir ROBERT BOYD, *iſſued at Gibraltar, for all regimental ſurgeons to appear in the full uniform of commiſſioned officers, in the year* 1791.

'TIS ſaid the Æſculapian corps,
A band reſpectable and old,
With potion, pill, and bliſter ſore,
Had ſlain their thouſands, ten times told.

They gave each doſe with air ſo wiſe,
'Twas not in mortals to reſiſt 'em:
Till gallant Boyd, who ſcorns diſguiſe,
Reſolv'd at length to change the ſyſtem.

"No more in garb of peace array'd"
(Such was the veteran's decree)
"Shall ye purſue the killing trade,
"But clad in armour *cap a-pie.*"

And now, the aſpect meekly bland,
The garments ſuiting men of lore,
Are chang'd for looks which ſpeak command,
For coats with lace beſprinkled o'er.

'Tis hence that, in our modern way,
The Doctor's gilded o'er ſo nice:
How cuſtoms change! The other day
The Pill was gil ed to entice.

Each ſon of Galen ſeems to ſay,
"Make no wry face, nor look aſkew,
"But take this draught without delay,
"Or elſe, by Jove, I'll run you thro'!"

Dear Doctor, all the draught I've ta'en:
I'm ready for another ſtill:
Let me not with theſe looks be ſlain,
Rather medicinally kill!

Oh! cou'd Hippocrates awhile
Revive, and you by him be ſeen,
I'm ſure the bearded ſage would ſmile
At his diſciple's martial mien.

'Mongſt you, who ſcan the human frame,
To cut your friends up is not new,
The Muſe, but with no hoſtile aim,
Has made a ſportive cut at you.

His-

HISTORICAL AFFAIRS.

POLAND.

Two notes, delivered to the Diet at Grodno, from the miniſters of Peterſburg and Berlin, demanding the appointment of a deputation to ſanction the diviſion of the country, produced the moſt violent altercation. It was agreed to in the ſitting of June 26. upon the motion of M. Jankowſki, by a conſiderable majority of votes, to claim the mediation of all the foreign courts, with thoſe of Berlin and Peterſburg, to withdraw their troops from the provinces of the republic, and to give up the ſame. And on this account, as the Poles have had no envoy at Vienna ſince M. Wayne held that office, he was again nominated.

At length, on the motion that the deputation demanded ſhould be empowered to treat with the court of Ruſſia only, this propoſition was ſupported by the King, and carried by a majority of 107 voices againſt 24.

It has been agreed upon, in the general confederation, that the military of the republic ſhall be diminiſhed; but that the civil liſt ſhall remain upon the ſame footing as before.

As the interval between one ſitting and another was not ſufficient for the drawing up of the inſtructions to the miniſters foreign courts, by the chancellors, no buſineſs was done on the 27th of June.

On the 28th, the Marſhal again brought forward the appointment of a delegation to treat with the courts of Peterſburg and Berlin conjointly. This was oppoſed by almoſt the whole chamber, as inconſiſtent with the reſolution already adopted to treat only with the court of Peterſburg, and an injunction was voted to the Chancellors of Courland and Lithuania, to draw up an anſwer to the notes delivered by the Ruſſian and Pruſſian miniſters, conformable to the principles of this reſolution.

The inſtructions prepared by the Chancellors for the miniſters at foreign courts, and for the conduct of the delegation, viz. to treat only with the court of Peterſburg, were read. It was propoſed as an additional article, to call M. Ducache, Chargé des Affairs from the court of Vienna, to the negotiations, becauſe the Emperor had guaranteed the treaty of 1775. To give time for examining this amendment, the Diet adjourned to July 1. when the debates on the delegation were renewed; and to get rid of a diſcuſſion, which the longer it was purſued became the more embarraſſed, it was unanimouſly agreed to adjourn the Diet to the 15th of July.

RUSSIA.

Whitehall, July 13. The Empreſs of Ruſſia publiſhed an edict at Peterſburg on the 8th of April laſt, prohibiting all trade and intercourſe with France; and alſo prohibiting the importation into the Ruſſian empire of any French merchandiſe, either in Ruſſian or foreign ſhipping, or by land. The edict alſo contains a general prohibition of the importation of a conſiderable number of articles from any foreign country. *Lond. Gaz.*

GERMANY.

Frankfort, June 22. The King of Pruſſia has removed his head-quarters-general from Bodenheim to Marienhorn, in order that he may be better able to direct the ſiege of Mentz. The trenches before that place were opened on the 16th. The preparations for the ſiege are immenſe, and the works are carried on without intermiſſion. Fourteen battalions are employed on them every day, half of whom remain under arms to cover thoſe at work. The batteries conſtructed behind Hexheim are mounted with 72 twenty-four pounders, 36 twelve pounders, 20 mortars, and 10 howitzers. The fire of the beſieged does not incommode the pioneers.

The floating battery which has been conſtructed at Ginſheim is mounted with cannon and howitzers. It will be employed to diſlodge the French from the point of the Rhine called the Head. A great number of Pruſſian volunteers offered themſelves for this attack.

July 7. On the 28th ult. an Imperial major, with a large eſcort, arrived at Coblentz, with orders to conduct the French war miniſter, Bournonville, with the four members of the National Convention, and the reſt of their retinue, from their preſent place of detention in the fortreſs of Erhenbretſtein, to Egra, in Bohemia.

Liege, July 11. A diviſion of the Heſſian troops in the pay of Great Britain, conſiſting of 4000 men, this day took the oath of allegiance before the commiſſaries appointed for this purpoſe by his Britannic Majeſty.

NETHERLANDS.

Whitehall, July 13 The following is a copy of a letter received at the ſecretary of ſtate's office from Sir James Murray, dated Eſtreux, July 10.

SIR,

SIR,

I have the honour to acquaint you, that the governor of Conde has this day conſented to ſurrender that place to the Imperial forces under the command of the Prince of Wirtemberg, by whom it had been blockaded for ſome time paſt.

The Auſtrian troops are to be put in immediate poſſeſſion of the detached works, and of one of the gates of the town (that leading to Tournay). The garriſon is to ſurrender as priſoners of war, and to march out on the 13th.

This is a conqueſt of the utmoſt importance; Conde being one of the ſtrongeſt places of this frontier, requiring but a ſmall garriſon for its defence, commanding the navigation of the Scheldt, and facilitating any future operation.

I have the honour to be, &c.

FRANCE.

In the Convention, April 12. it was moved, that Philip Egalité (Orleans) ſhould be inſtantly tried by the criminal tribunal of Marſeilles, and that a price ſhould be offered for the head of each of the fugitive Capets—Decreed.

Marat was next accuſed.

The debate was noiſy and tumultuous almoſt beyond deſcription. Marat was denounced as an inſtigator to maſſacre. He on the other hand ſpoke loudly of his patriotiſm, of his republican ſpirit, of his love for the people. He even hinted that he would ſoon convince the Convention that the people were alſo attached to him. The Convention decreed,

"That Marat ſhould be inſtantly put under arreſt.—That the legiſlative committee ſhould make a report at noon the next day, on the conduct of that member."

The following addreſs of the Jacobins of Paris to the affiliated ſocieties in the departments, ſigned by Marat, as preſident, occaſioned the decree of accuſation which was paſſed againſt him by the Convention.

"Friends,—We are betrayed—to arms—Dumourier, united with the criminal faction, who have ſupported him, is marching againſt Paris. Your greateſt enemies are in the ſenate. The counter-revolution is in the government and the Convention. There exiſts that ſacrilegious cabal directed by foreign courts. Let us riſe—Let us exterminate all the conſpirators. Let the departments, diſtricts, municipalities, and all popular ſocieties unite and agree to ſend in a ſhower of petitions, manifeſting a formal wiſh for the expulſion of all thoſe unfaithful members who betrayed their truſt, and who did not vote for the death of a tyrant. Such delegates are traitors, royaliſts, or fools. By acting with them, your liberty will be ruined, but by their ſpeedy expulſion, your country will be ſaved. Unite then to demand a decree of accuſation againſt theſe perfidious repreſentatives! the focus of the conſpiracy is there. Be fully perſuaded of this truth, that Paris without you cannot ſave the republic. The Marſeilloiſe are already on their legs—to arms—hurry to Paris—no delay—no deliberation,—elſe your country is loſt. MARAT."

13. A letter was read from Marat without date or place, declaring, that he conſidered his arreſt as null, whilſt Sales, Barbaroux, &c. continued unpuniſhed for their crimes in having been complicated with Dumourier. He ſaid he was ſacrificed to the ariſtocratic faction—He avowed that he belonged to the people, whoſe eye he was—that as he did not with either to have his throat cut, or to be poiſoned in priſon by his ſecret enemies, he was going to ſhelter himſelf from their fury, but he would ſtill unmaſk them to their country.

A ſcene of the utmoſt tumult now followed—"He threatens to excite the people to inſurrection" was exclaimed from every ſide of the hall.

Stingel, Miranda, Miaczinſki, and L'Ecuyer, were delivered over to the revolutionary tribunal.

Petion moved a repeal of the decree for bringing General Miranda before the revolutionary tribunal.

During the diſcuſſion of this motion, the deputies were thrown into great commotion, and Albite, Robertſpierre the younger, and ſome others cried out, that the Convention wiſhed to ſave all conſpirators. This was loudly applauded by the galleries, and ſome of the ſpectators even inſulted the members who ſupported Petion's motion.

After a long and violent debate, the Convention paſſed to the order of the day, on the motion of Petion.

On a motion by Danton, the Convention declared, in the name of the French people, that they would not intertere, in any manner, in the government of foreign powers; but that they would rather bury themſelves in the ruins of their country, than ſuffer any foreign power to interfere with the conſtitution which they wiſh to form for themſelves.

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The Convention further decreed the pain of death, againſt any who ſhould propoſe a negotiation with the enemy, for the purpoſe of modelling the conſtitution agreeable to their ſuggeſtions, or recommend offering any terms whatever to ſuch nations as would not firſt acknowledge the ſovereignty, unity, and indiviſibility of the republic, founded upon liberty and equality.

The Convention decreed, 1. "That provocation to the re-eſtabliſhment of royalty is another counter-revolutionary crime; and that thoſe found guilty of it ſhall ſuffer death. 2. That the ſame puniſhment ſhall be inflicted on every individual who ſhall vary the price of merchandiſe becauſe ſold for aſſignats. 3. The exportation of gold or ſilver from the territory of France, beſides the puniſhment now ordered by law, ſhall be further puniſhed by a fine, of not leſs than 2000 livres. 4. Every perſon who ſhall refuſe to take aſſignats in payment, ſhall be forced to it, and be ſubject to a fine to the amount of double the ſum refuſed."

19. The Convention have entered upon a new diſcuſſion of the declaration of the rights of man. The firſt article is expreſſed in the following words: "The natural rights of man in ſociety are, equality, liberty, ſafety, property, the ſocial guarantee, and reſiſtance of oppreſſion."

The fifth thus defines liberty: "Liberty conſiſts in doing every thing that does not injure another. It reſts upon this maxim, "Do not to another what you would wiſh not done to yourſelf."

The committee propoſed, as the 8th article, to declare every man free in the exerciſe of his religious worſhip.

On this article Vergniaud called for the previous queſtion, that it might be entirely ſet aſide; as the debate upon it would rank it among the ſocial duties, to which it was entirely foreign.

Danton ſupported this opinion, and ſaid, "Let us at length prove to the world, that we are cured of the madneſs of prieſts." [This obſervation was applauded, and the diſcuſſion of the article was adjourned.]

25. John Paul Marat, deputy to the National Convention, was, by the unanimous declaration of the jury, yeſterday, at half an hour after three o'clock, acquitted of the accuſation which had been brought againſt him.

On this occaſion, a body of citizens, having got permiſſion, defiled through the Convention, to ſhew to the repreſentatives of the people their joy to find Marat innocent. Soon after Marat arrived, with a civic crown on his head, which he himſelf took off; and mounting the tribune, made the following ſpeech:—"Citizens, You ſee a repreſentative of the people whoſe rights have been violated, but juſtice has been done him. I ſwear anew to eſpouſe the cauſe of equality, liberty, and of the people."

He was loudly applauded. The cote-droit, or minority of the Aſſembly, had entirely left the hall.

26. The Convention decreed, that the money of the Republic ſhould have inſcribed upon it, "All men are equal before the law." And on the Legend, "The French Republic."

27. A letter from the municipality of Port L'Orient gave an account of a fire which had broken out there on the 22ſt, in the ſailcloth arſenal, the whole of which building had fallen a prey to the flames, and the ſtorehouſes, armoury, and the archieves of the India company. The Convention, extremely afflicted by this terrible event, ordered the authors of it to be ſought for and proſecuted.

Deputies from the departments of Mayennes and Loire informed the Convention, that the whole of Brittany is in a ſtate of inſurrection. An extent of country of fifty leagues in length and eighteen in breadth, is poſſeſſed by the rebels. As brave as ſuperſtitious, habituated to every ſpecies of hardſhip, commanded by experienced chiefs, they ſuſtain regular battles, make well-conducted retreats, and know how to repair their loſſes. Led away by their fanaticiſm, they blindly throw themſelves upon the troops that are oppoſed to them. They witneſs numbers of their companions fall without being daunted, and end in triumphing.—They have obtained two victories. They have publiſhed a ſpirited proclamation, dated from the camp at Moriere, 10th April, the firſt year of the reign of Louis XVII.

30. Gaudet complained that no reſpect was paid to the Convention at Paris, and moved that the place of their ſittings ſhould be removed to Verſailles on the Monday following. In this he was ſupported by a great number of members; one, however, objected to naming any particular day, but moved that the next time the tribunes diſturbed their debates

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the deputies ſhould unite, and go to Verſailles, if neceſſary, ſword in hand.

Marat moved that a reward of 200,000 livres and a civic crown ſhould be given to whomever ſhould take any one of the four emigrant ci-devant princes of France, dead or alive; if emigrants, their free pardon is to be included.

May 8. A deputy from d'Indre and the Loire appeared at the bar, demanding immediate and ſufficient ſuccour. The Aſſembly, he ſaid, were blinded by falſe repreſentations. The country was in the moſt dreadful ſtate, and threatened with moſt imminent danger. The rebels preſented themſelves at different points, in columns of about 10,000 or 12,000 men. They have taken the towns of Breſſure, Thouars, and Loudun, deſtroyed the tree of liberty, and hoiſted the white flag. He concluded by requeſting that all the arms and cannon fit for uſe might be ſent to theſe departments.

The Convention immediately entered into a deliberation reſpecting the meaſures to be taken to ſave the country. Thuriot moved, that all party quarrels ſhould be laid aſide, that every man who did not follow any trade ſhould be ſent to combat the rebels, and that every individual who kept a male ſervant ſhould furniſh two men armed and equipped. The department of Paris ſoon after announced that ſeven ſections had furniſhed their contingency, and that the majority of the reſt were buſy in raiſing them.

13. Gen. Santerre appeared at the bar, and made an addreſs, in which he ſaid, we are ready to ſet out for La Vendee; and to-morrow, and the enſuing days, twelve or fourteen thouſand men will ſet out. We have eighty guns, and abundance of ammunition. The General concluded by ſuggeſting, that,

"After the counter revolutioniſts ſhall have been ſubdued, an hundred thouſand men may readily make a deſcent on England, there to proclaim an appeal to the Engliſh people, on the preſent war."

Referred to a committee of public ſafety.

11. The Convention decreed the honours of the Pantheon to Gen. Dampiere.

13. Condorcet ſaid, it was in vain to diſſemble any longer the dangers of the Republic, the fall of which was threatened by an union of fanaticiſm and ariſtocracy. The nation had demanded a conſtitution, as the ſole remedy of theſe evils: and an efficacious one it promiſed to be. But this was not all—and he therefore ſhould propoſe to his colleagues, not immediately to name ſucceſſors, but to fix an epoch when, provided their conſtitutional labours ſhould not be as yet terminated, the nation might proceed to the choice of new mandatories, and be ſatisfied that the power of the preſent one was not to be perpetual. He ſhould therefore propoſe, in the form of a decree, 1ſt, That provided the primary aſſemblies ſhould not before that time be convoked, to accept or refuſe the conſtitution which is to be preſented to the people, they are and remain convoked for the 1ſt of the enſuing November, to elect a new Convention. 2dly, The new Convention ſhall be elected in the ſame forms, and conformably to the regulations preſcribed by the act of the Legiſlative Body, dated in Auguſt 1792. 3dly, Should a new Convention be then neceſſary, it ſhall meet on the 15th of December next.

The diſcuſſion was adjourned.

15. A letter from General Paoli, dated the 26th ult. was read, in which he regrets, that extreme old age and bodily infirmities make it impoſſible for him to croſs the ſea, and afterwards to travel two hundred leagues by land, to appear at the bar of the Convention, where he could readily confound his adverſaries. He concludes thus—"If, citizens repreſentatives, you deem it neceſſary to the ſafety and peace of this country, and to the ſtrengthening of liberty and equality in Corſica, that my preſence may be no longer here a ſubject of miſtruſt, hatred, or jealouſy, ſpeak, and I will, without a murmur, retire from the country which has given me birth, and which has honoured my life and my name.

Referred to the committee of public ſafety.

Cambon propoſed to open a compulſory loan of a thouſand millions from the rich, the indifferent, and all thoſe who may be ſuppoſed intereſted in the ſucceſs of the enemies of France. He mentioned the department of Herault, in which he ſaid three millions had been borrowed in this manner.

Marat ſupported this propoſal, and was of opinion that the Rolandins, Girondins, and Briſſotins, ſhould be choſen as the lenders.

Barbaroux aſked leave to offer means much leſs arbitrary and dangerous.

Barrere

Barrere announced that the executive council had appointed Cuſtine to the command of the northern army.

18. A moſt violent tumult took place in one of the galleries. A ſubſtitute deputy (one of the citizens who were choſen, not to act immediately as legiſlators, but to ſupply ſuch ſeats in the National Convention as might be vacated by death, &c.) was inſulted by a woman; and ſeveral members demanded ſtrenuouſly, that ſo groſs an outrage ſhould be ſeverely puniſhed. Gaudet, more eſpecially, inſiſted on a public reparation; and for this ſtrong reaſon, becauſe there was a plan ſet on foot to degrade, by every poſſible means, the national repreſentation, and to deſtroy it in this way, provided the national edifice ſhould not be overturned by open force. "So true is this," ſaid the member, "that I now denounce to you a horrible plot formed, on the night of the 16th, at the Hotel de la Mairie, in the preſence of the preſidents of the revolutionary committees of the different ſections. A queſtion of no leſs moment was agitated than that of diſſolving the Convention—of removing the ſhield which ſtill defends liberty againſt the attempts of factious anarchiſts. I propoſe to you the following decree: "The National Convention breaks and diſſolves all the conſtituted authorities of Paris, orders all the ſubſtitute deputies (ſuppleans) of the Convention to unite at Bourges, without, however, exerciſing there any function without a decree of the Convention; and orders, that the preſent decree ſhall be conveyed into all the departments by extraordinary couriers."

Barrere thought that the miſchief did not require ſo violent a remedy; and on his propoſition it was decreed, that a committee of twelve members, choſen from the Convention, ſhould examine all the plans and reſolutions formed by the commons of Paris.

19. Several of the municipality and citizens of Orleans having been impriſoned on account of a treaſonable petition relative to the ci-devant Duc d'Orleans, it was propoſed to examine into the caſes of their confinement, and to releaſe thoſe againſt whom no proofs of guilt could be brought.

Collot d'Herbois remarked, that the perſons in queſtion were the worſt of culprits, for they had attempted to deſtroy all that the commiſſioners had done in their inquiries into the treachery of Egalite. All the agents who had been apprehended were ſtaunch counter-revolutioniſts, and the orator of the municipality a ci-devant Marquis.

"'Tis falſe," (obſerved ſeveral members on the other ſide).

After a very tumultuous debate, it was agreed that the caſe of the municipal officers and citizens impriſoned at Orleans, for reſiſting the legiſlative authority, ſhould be inquired into.

20. Buzot obſerved, that, in erecting the fabric of the conſtitution, it was neceſſary the people ſhould be perfectly free in their deliberations. He ſaid the galleries were filled with women, who were blood-thirſty and intent on murder, and that much art was employed to keep honeſt citizens out of them.

Marat ſaid, that this plan was the work of Rolland's wife.

The tumult became very general on this declaration; ſome members accuſing their opponents with endeavouring to ſcreen the rich ariſtocrats, by not allowing a general equalization of property—others were accuſed of aſſiſting a faction to reſtore royalty, and of being Dumourier's men. At length it was moved—"That whoever ſhould interrupt the proceedings of the Convention ſhould be ſent to priſon." Order was then reſtored for a ſhort time.

Vergniaud. "It is impoſſible the Republic can ſtand without having a conſtitution. Thoſe who foment tumults among us are its enemies; thoſe men and women who hiſs from the galleries ſhould be puniſhed." (A violent uproar, during which Duhem accuſed Vergniaud with being an accomplice of Dumourier's. Duhem called Vergniaud an aſſaſſin.)

"I move, (continued Vergniaud), that an extraordinary convocation of the ſections be ſummoned for to-morrow night, and that this day's proceedings be ſent to them; that an additional guard ſhould be demanded of them, for ſupporting the regularity, and defending the members of the Convention." (Some applauſes.)

Several voices called out, that it was Vergniaud who was an anarchiſt.

This converſation was interrupted by a deputation from one of the ſections of Paris, which prayed to have a conſtitution.

Addreſs of the Preſident of the National Convention to the French.

Citizens, The ſcandalous ſcene which has juſt paſſed in the tribunes, convinces me of the truth of a conſpiracy which has been

been revealed to me by many good citizens, who, fearing the poignards of aſſaſſins, have refuſed to make their names public. I ſhall now develope this plot! Legiſlators! People! be attentive—your ſafety is concerned.

The ariſtocracy and the coalition of kings, who tremble at their inability to ſnatch from us our liberty by the force of arms, are now preparing to deſtroy it by an intrigue carried on by gold. Theſe were the days appointed for the execution of their plot; and what paſſed yeſterday and to day in the hall are only preliminaries to it. This conſpiracy has been formed for the ſame purpoſe as that of the 10th of May: they wiſh to deſtroy the Convention by inſurrection, and this is their plan of execution:

The conſpirators, after having for a long time prepared the minds of the people by crafty ſpeeches clothed in patriotic language, have miſled the members of the popular ſocieties, of the conſtituted authorities, and even of the Convention itſelf, ſo as almoſt to have perſuaded them, that to ſave the country a new inſurrection was neceſſary. This inſurrection has been organized by clandeſtine committees. Every thing is preconcerted and arranged. The diſorder which they have created in the Convention will ſerve as a pretext for their projected riot. The women, too, lend their aſſiſtance, many of whom have been formed into regiments for this iniquitous undertaking. At the moment when their miſguided arms are uplifted for the deſtruction of their country, they endeavour to perſuade us that they are employed in ſaving it.

A great majority of the citizens, it is true, has not been ſeduced; but our enemies have ſucceeded in making fanatics of that credulous part of the people, who, more remarkable for their virtue than their underſtanding, are eaſily miſled. They have alſo attempted to perſuade the volunteers who are going to la Vendee, that they ought not to depart till after the execution of their project.

The inſurgents are to execute, on the members of the Convention and other citizens, the proſcriptions which have been ordered by their leaders. The perſons proſcribed will neceſſarily find ſome defenders; a combat will enſue, and ſuch members of the Convention as ſhall have been led aſtray will be themſelves maſſacred. The national repreſentation will then be deſtroyed; the flames of civil war will break forth; and the departments and the armies will be divided.

A prey to anarchy, there no longer remains to France any rallying point. During theſe intervals, all the powers at the ſame time attack our frontiers—the ariſtocrats ſhew themſelves, and the counter revolution is effected.

Citizens! this is the abyſs into which you are about to be precipitated, if, notwithſtanding all that you have juſt heard, you perſiſt in following the inſtigations of thoſe who miſlead you. I call Heaven to witneſs, it is for your welfare alone that I ſpeak.—If you could ſee the bottom of my heart, you would there diſcover how much I abhor ſlavery—how much I adore liberty; it is ſhe who at this moment inſpires me.

I owe to my country the declaration that I have made—I have diſcharged my conſcience; and, firm at my poſt, I wait the event.

I love the people too well not to uſe my utmoſt endeavours to ſave them from the effects of their own madneſs; and if, in the exceſs of their blindneſs, it ſhould happen, that in this chair I ſhould receive their attacks, covered with wounds I will ſtill offer up my prayers for their happineſs; and my laſt words ſhall be, "O God! preſerve the liberty of my country, and pardon thoſe murderers: they know not what they do." ISNARD.

22. A letter was read from Coſtine, dated Weiſſenbourg, May 18 as follows:—"On the 16th, I ſent orders to Gen. Houchard to attack Seinbach with his troops, whilſt Gen. Pully attacked the Pruſſians at Permeſkin. At eight o'clock at night I marched with twenty-ſix battalions, three regiments of dragoons, and five of cavalry, to take poſt on the heights of Dinheim. The battle began at half paſt five the following morning. Our artillery had great effect. The battle at firſt was much in our favour; but while our infantry were forming, a regiment of our cavalry rode up towards them, which a battalion of our troops taking for the enemy, ran away, and could not be rallied. I did every thing to ſtop their flight, but in vain; and in running off, they ſhot at our troops, and behaved like cowards."

24. Among other decrees, the Convention charges its committee of twelve to conſider of ſome immediate plan for the preſervation of public tranquility.

Paris, May 25. Gen. Miaczinſki was guillotined

guillotined yeſterday at the ſquare de la revolution. During his way to the ſpot of execution, he cried out inceſſantly to the crowd that followed him, "I die the victim of a cabal. The people will one day regret my death; but it will be too late!"

Philippe Devaux, Adjutant General of the northern army, and Dumourier's aid de camp, convicted of betraying the republic, by executing his General's orders, was condemned laſt night, and executed this morning. He heard his ſentence pronounced without emotion: "I have known," ſaid he, "how to ſpill my blood, at the head of armies, in the defence of the people. I ſhall aſcend the ſcaffold courageouſly; and may my death be uſeful to the people!"

Gen. Miranda was acquitted yeſterday by the revolutionary tribunal. His trial laſted five days, during the whole of which time he diſplayed a great preſence of mind, and made ſuch clear and preciſe replies as entirely ſatisfied his judges.

25. Pele denounced the miniſter of war.

Geniſſieux demanded a more vigorous and extenſive decree on this ſubject. "All the miniſters (ſaid he) except him for the home-department, refuſed to obey the orders of the Convention. I move for the removal of all the miniſters."

Marat ſaid, that the propoſition of Geniſſieux had no other view than to get himſelf elected to the Preſident's chair. All the misfortunes of the republic originate from this cauſe, that every man of abilities is bribed by foreign gold. He here paid ſome compliments to his own party, and ſaid, they were all incorruptible men, who diſdained gold; the whole executive council are the accomplices of Dumourier.

The inveſtigation of the charges againſt the miniſtry was referred to the committee of public ſafety.

A deputation from the council-general of the commons of Paris appeared at the bar. It demanded, that the ſentence of Herbert, a member of the commons, now in the Abbey priſon, ſhould be immediate.

The Preſident replied—"Juſtice ſhall be ſpeedily adminiſtered; but I declare, that if the city of Paris attempts any violence againſt any of its repreſentatives, the deſtruction of the city will follow, and the Seine be purpled with blood."

This reply produced an obvious ſenſation.

26. The buſineſs of the ſitting was opened by Marat, who made virulent and perſonal attacks on ſeveral of his fellow legiſlators. Theſe perſonalities gave riſe to a violent diſcuſſion, at the cloſe of which the following decree was enacted:

"Should any member hereafter preſume to hold towards any of his colleagues, derogatory and injurious language, applying to him or them the epithets of incendiary, aſſaſſin, villain, ſcoundrel, &c ſuch members ſhall be inſtantly, and without any forms, expelled from the Convention."

No ſooner was this decree paſſed into a law, than Marat haſtily roſe up, "I proteſt," exclaimed he, "and proteſt ſolemnly, that all thoſe who have framed this wicked meaſure are conſpirators."

This new outrage on the part of Marat gave riſe to a ſecond decree, which enacted, that,

"Beſides the expulſion of the ſlanderer, all perſonalities ſhall be rigorouſly puniſhed.

Marat, who declared that he deſpiſed and laughed at this decree, engaged himſelf in freſh invectives againſt his opponents; till at length the conteſt was put an end to by a decree of urgency to the following purport:

"The executive council ſhall ſend an army of ten thouſand men to the city of Baſtia, in the iſland of Corſica, to quell the inſurrections there, and to cruſh the party of Paoli, deſirous of delivering up that iſland to the Engliſh."

27. Bouchotte, the miniſter at war, ſent in his reſignation.

A letter from the Mayor of Paris was read, ſtating, that the public mind was very much agitated; that the two parties in Paris were on the point of coming to blows: and that ſome ſtrong meaſures were neceſſary in order to prevent them.

Marat ſaid, that all the public troubles were to be attributed to the commiſſion of twelve, which had provoked the inſurrection of the people. He demanded that the commiſſion ſhould be diſſolved, or a general inſurrection would enſue.

I demand, ſaid Mazuyer, that it ſhould be decreed, that Marat had endeavoured to foment an inſurrection. The people ought to know of the cabals which exiſted laſt night in Paris; they ought to be informed, that the ſection of Union has

this night carried to the ſection of the Temple, for its concurrence, a decree, by which it has been determined to maſſacre the rich, and twenty-two National deputies. This real ſituation of Paris ſhould be known. Pache muſt be oppoſed to Pache. In his firſt report, he ſaid, that Paris was tranquil—that he had remedied the danger if there was any—and to-day he foretels diſaſters. I demand that theſe two reports be printed, in order to prove that Pache has contradicted himſelf.—Agreed.

The ſection of La Cité appeared at the bar. It demanded the liberation of its preſident and ſecretary, who had been arreſted by order of the commiſſion of twelve. It obſerved, that if the Convention would not ſave the people, the people would ſave themſelves. It farther inſiſted, that the commiſſion of twelve ſhould be taken before the revolutionary tribunal. [Applauded from the galleries.]

The Preſident replied—The Convention pardons your youth; it will never be influenced by any portion of the people. In a republic, the law alone ought to reign. The Convention adopted this anſwer.

Robeſpierre ſpoke at length againſt this reply.—Charlier demanded a decree of accuſation againſt the committee of twelve. Marat ſaid that the country could only be ſaved by the ſacrifice of the ariſtocrats.—Leonard Bourdon demanded, that the two citizens ſhould be releaſed.—Thuriot ſaid, the Preſident was the author of this diſorder.

Cambon accuſed his opponents of being rogues and aſſaſſins.

Lecroix anſwered him, that he had a pair of horſe-piſtols, one of which was much at his ſervice.—The tumults increaſed.

The Preſident, while writing a letter, was attacked by Roux, who ſnatched it from him. Several members ran to the aſſiſtance of the Preſident, who put on his hat, and rung the bell.

The Aſſembly at length voted, that Robeſpierre ſhould not be heard; which produced freſh noiſe from the Mountain; and the appeal nominal was called for.

21. A member ſtated, that the army of the republic had been completely defeated by Gaſton, at the head of the inſurgents, who afterwards marched againſt Rochefort; another, that the army of the Pyrennees had been entirely defeated, and that Perpignan was blockaded.

Cambon ſaid, that the King of Naples had entered into the coalition of the powers; and the French territory was about to be attacked on the ſide of Var.

30. Cambon propoſed to grant authority to the executive council, to exchange, for arms and ammunition, the regalia and appendages of the Crown, and to make preſents of them to powers whoſe alliance may be uſeful to the French nation.—Decreed.

The requiſition of the public force was ordered in ſeveral claſſes as follows:

The firſt requiſition ſhall extend from the age of 16 to 25; the ſecond from that of 25 to 35; the third from the age of 35 to 45. The names of all citizens above that age ſhall be inſcribed in three claſſes, in regiſters kept by the municipalities. Every citizen burthened with three children, and who can prove that he is unable to maintain them except by his labour, ſhall be ranked in the third claſs, whatever may be his age. All bachelors under the age of 45 ſhall be placed in the firſt claſs.

The municipalities ſhall inſcribe, in the ſame regiſters, the number of fire-arms which they have at their diſpoſal, and which ſhall be diſtributed amongſt the citizens of the firſt claſs.

The municipal officers ſhall take care, under pain of being diſmiſſed by the directories of departments, that all citizens of the firſt claſs be exerciſed every Sunday.

A diſcuſſion being again opened on the decree of laſt night, for diſſolving the committee of twelve and ſetting Herbert at liberty, a ſcene of the utmoſt tumult followed. The appel nominal was attempted, but ſo great was the confuſion that the numbers could not be counted. The Preſident put on his hat, and endeavoured to reſtore order, but without effect; and, counting himſelf inſulted, reſigned his office. A new preſident was appointed, the diſcuſſion was again opened, the ſame confuſion followed, and he was forced, like his predeceſſor, to reſign the chair.

The Jacobins at laſt prevailed, and, having obtained a Preſident of their own choice, the decree for diſſolving the committee of twelve was carried by a majority of forty two voices. The members of that committee were denounced, and all the citizens whom they had

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thrown into priſon were ordered to be liberated.

Evening Sitting.

In this ſitting the ſcenes of uproar and confuſion were renewed Moſt of the members were for revoking the decree by which the ſuppreſſion of the committee of twelve had been enacted, alledging that the decree had been extorted from them by means of violence and fear.

Lanjuinais.—" All France bewails the impriſonment of 50,000 citizens, for having diſpleaſed your commiſſioners. In the ſmall ſpace of one month, more people have been thrown into priſon in the departments, than the ancient feudal government deprived of liberty in the courſe of a whole century; and here in Paris, only thoſe are releaſed who, for a ſmall pecuniary reward, chuſe to preach murder and anarchy!—Your commiſſioners are pro-conſuls who are removed far from you. A motion was made on Sunday laſt, in the Jacobin Club, to butcher and exterminate the Convention, and all the people of property in this metropolis. This very night, that infernal motion will again be brought forward; and ſtill you ſleep over thoſe plots in heedleſs ſupineneſs!—Yes—we have monſters who thirſt after blood and power, and thoſe you protect!"

Here a dreadful tumult took place, which prevented the ſpeaker's proceeding any farther.

Cambon ſaid, " All deliberations are at an end here! Let us return to our departments—We can do no more!"

The Convention decreed, that the committee of twelve ſhould reſume its functions, but the members prudently ſent in their reſignation.

Breard obſerved, that the committee of public ſafety was expoſed to the moſt atrocious calumnies. " Briſſot has alſo publiſhed a libel againſt me; but I have a poignard ready ſharpened for the defamer." [Loud applauſes from the galleries.]

Barrere, in the name of the committee of public ſafety, preſented the following account of the ſtate of the different armies of the Republic; " It muſt not be concealed," ſaid he, " that the army of the north is in an alarming ſituation. Repulſed between Cambray and Bouchain, it quitted the camp of Famars to aſſume that of Cerac. It has abandoned Valenciennes and Conde to their own ſtrength. It is in danger of having all its communication cut off with Liſle and Douay. It is much to be wiſhed that the commander in chief, who joined it on the 25th, may be able to reſtore order.

Paris, May 31. At four o'clock this morning the tocſin was ſounded. The general was beaten, and the alarm-gun fired. The active citizens repaired to their ſections; a profound ſentiment of terror prevailed throughout Paris, but the cauſe was not diſtinctly known. The agitation which hourly increaſed, became the object of the deliberations of the Convention, whoſe ſitting opened at ſeven in the morning. The mayor and the miniſter of the interior department were called to the bar. The former declared, that the municipality had given the neceſſary orders to the proviſional commandant to prevent the guns from being fired, and that he (the mayor) had himſelf repaired to the committee of public ſafety, with the miniſter of the interior department, and the other members of the executive council, to give an account of the ſtate of Paris. He had afterwards repaired to the permanent council of the commune, and during this time the commiſſioners of the majority of the ſections had ſuſpended the municipality, whom they had afterwards reſtored to their functions.

Valaze and Vergniaud demanded that the commandant of Paris ſhould be ordered to the bar.

Before any other ſtep ſhould be taken, Danton was deſirous that the committee of twelve, to which all the diſturbances were aſcribed, ſhould be ſuppreſſed.

The proviſional commune appeared at the bar, and announced, that, having been charged to diſcover a great plot which was on foot, they came to fulfil their miſſion: they next ſtated the purport of two reſolutions they had formed.

Gaudet oppoſed this uſurpation of the powers which, in his opinion, belonged to the Convention alone. He propoſed to abrogate all that had been done during the night by the commiſſioners of the revolutionary committees, and to bring before the proper tribunals the executive council, as well as thoſe who had founded the tocſin, beat the general, ſhut the barriers, and ſtopped the poſt.

This propoſition was decreed; but a moment after, on the ſuggeſtion of Thuriot and Lacroix, the decree was repealed.

A deputation of the revolutionary committees

mittees demanded, 1. The ſuppreſſion of the committee of twelve; 2. A revolutionary army of ſans culottes; 3. A decree of accuſation againſt twenty-two deputies, and the members of the above-named committee; 4. A diminution of the price of bread; 5. The diſpatch of commiſſioners to the ſouthern provinces, there to put a ſtop to the counter revolution; and, 6. The arreſt of Claviere, and Le Brun the miniſter of foreign affairs.

June 1. Barrere propoſed an addreſs to the French nation on the inſurrection of yeſterday.

Vergniaud reſiſted this meaſure.

Lafource propoſed the following addreſs, alone worthy the wiſdom of the Convention:

"Frenchmen, conſpirators, diſguiſed as patriots to miſlead the people, ſounded the *tocſin*, and fired the alarm-guns. The citizens of Paris, worthy of the Republic and of themſelves, retreated to their ſections, where they took up arms, and enforced a ſubmiſſion to the laws and the national repreſentation. Tranquillity now prevails; the Convention is vigilant, and will take ſuch meaſures as will leave to the traitors ſhame, terror, and death alone."

The Mountain got the better of this addreſs: and the proclamation drawn up by Barrere was adopted.

Extraordinary Night Sitting.

The *tocſin* having again ſounded in ſeveral quarters, and the general having been beaten, ſeveral deputies repaired to their poſt, and demanded that the members then preſent ſhould conſtitute an aſſembly. This was oppoſed by thoſe on the right ſide of the hall.

Cambon, in the name of the committee of public ſafety, ſtated, that the new troubles which had juſt ariſen were owing to the Convention not having determined on the decree of accuſation demanded againſt the twenty-two members denounced by the forty-eight ſections of Paris.

A deputation of the department of Paris demanded that Duſſaulx, Ducos, Fonfrede, and Iſnard, ſhould be included in the ſame meaſure of public ſafety, as being denounced and criminated by the public opinion.

Duſſaulx thought himſelf very happy in being aſſociated with the members who had already been denounced by the forty-eight ſections. He deemed it an honour which threw a new *eclat* on the glory he had acquired by writing in favour of liberty for upwards of thirty years.

Legendre—"Duſſaulx has aſcended this tribune, to declare to you, that his patriotiſm is of an ancient date. Patriots are not diſtinguiſhed by age. We are all of the ſame age: we were born to liberty on the 14th of July, and the taking of the Baſtile was our baptiſmal day. The people muſt declare whether they wiſh to ſave liberty; and is it poſſible to hope a Republican conſtitution from men, who, by voting for an appeal to the people, have fought to light up the torch of civil war!"

Laignelot recommended unanimity, more eſpecially as La Lozere, and ſeveral other departments, were announced to be in a ſtate of inſurrection.

2. Saint Andre.—"We muſt not diſſemble—we are in a moſt critical ſituation. Every where the counter-revolutioniſts excite diſturbances, and threaten our liberty. An army of inſurgents has for a long time ravaged La Vendee. Troubles have broken out in La Lozere, and you will learn that ariſtocracy has raiſed its audacious head at Lyons, where above 800 patriots have been maſſacred—Againſt this conflagration great meaſures—revolutionary meaſures are neceſſary. I move that you pay attention to the troubles of Lozere, and ſend thither commiſſioners with full power to ſtrike off the heads of thoſe who oppoſe the ſecuring of liberty. I move alſo, that you enforce the execution of the decree, which ſtates, that ariſtocrats are without the protection of the law; and that you give orders to all adminiſtrative bodies to ſequeſtrate the property of ſuſpected perſons." All theſe propoſitions were decreed.

A great crowd had in the mean time aſſembled round the Convention, and were loud in their demands, that a decree of accuſation ſhould inſtantly be paſſed againſt thoſe who had incurred their diſpleaſure. Several members came in, and complained that they were inſulted by the mob, and that their deliberations were not free. A deputation was ſent out to harangue the people, and to prevail on them, if poſſible to preſerve the public peace; but they could hardly obtain a hearing, and all their intreaties were only anſwered by demands that the decree of accuſation ſhould be paſſed.

Having

Having returned to the hall, a tumultuous debate followed. The Mountain at laſt prevailing, a decree was paſſed, ordering the following members and miniſters to be arreſted, viz. Genſonne, Vergniaud, Briſſot, Gaudet, Gorſas, Petion, Salles, Cambon, Barbaroux, Buzot, Birotteau, Rabaut, Lafource, Lanjuinais, Grangeneuve, Leſage, Lovet, Valaze, Doulcett, Ducos, Lanthenas, Duſſaulx, all the members of the committee of twelve, Ponfrede and Saint Martin excepted, and the miniſters Claviere and Lebrun. On the requeſt of Marat, and ſeveral other deputies, Ducos, Duſſaux, and Lanthenas were afterwards excepted.

Levaſſaur read an addreſs from the officers of the firſt battalion of volunteers, at the camp of Weiſſenbourg, complaining that the public ſpirit was beginning to cool; and that a part of the members of the Convention ſeemed to have adopted moderate principles. They requeſted that the members who had not voted for the death of the Tyrant, and who wiſhed for an appeal to the people, ſhould be replaced by their ſubſtitutes; that the commiſſioners with the armies ſhould have the right of ſending their ſuffrages to the Convention, in order that the ſoldiers might have a ſhare in chooſing the repreſentatives of the people.—Referred to the committee of public ſafety.

3. Letters were received from ſeveral of the members that had been arreſted, demanding juſtice, and from others, reſigning their ſeats in the Convention.

Marat ſtated by letter, that he would not enter on any duty as a legiſlator, until the lot of the men whoſe puniſhment the people demanded had been decided on.

5. Doulcet.—"I denounce that monſtrous authority, the pretended revolutionary committee, which will ſoon exerciſe over you a tyrannical ſway. It has violated the moſt ſacred of rights, that of the circulation of thoughts. The Journals have been ſtopped at the poſt-houſe, where the letters have alſo been opened. A packet ſent to me by the commune of Rennes has been broken up by this committee, and a new ſeal placed on it, with this inſcription, "revolution of the 31ſt of May." All this tends to prove, that this committee means to be the ſupreme authority of the ſtate; that it has attempted a revolution; while it ſimply conſiſts of a band of miſcreants." (Violent murmurs on the left ſide.) "I demand juſtice on this committee, which I call counter revolutionary." (Murmurs.)

Fonfrede ſtated, that the populace were on foot, to demand either the trial or the enlargement of the arreſted deputies. The committee ſhould make its report, or the Convention ſhould decree that this report ſhould not be heard.

Mazuyer—"I acknowledge no Convention here, ſo long as the deputies ſnatched forcibly from us are allowed to be abſent from us under arreſt."

ENGLAND.

Nootka Sound, Sept. 18 1792. Subſequent to the convention, Don Juan Francisco de la Bodega y Quadra, governor of St Blas, was appointed commandant of the veſſels and ſettlements belonging to his Catholic Majeſty on the weſt coaſt of North America. He arrived at Nootka in April laſt, and has ſince reſided here. The Dædalus Britiſh ſtore-ſhip arrived two months ſince from England, and conveyed ſome diſpatches to Capt. Vancouver, in which he was directed to receive thoſe territories of which the ſubjects of England were diſpoſſeſſed by the Spaniards in April 1789. Towards the latter part of Auguſt, Capt. Vancouver, (who is on this coaſt on a voyage of diſcovery), with two veſſels, entered this port. After ſome letters between him and the commandant on the ſubject of delivering thoſe territories it was intended to cede, the gentlemen diſcovered, that their ideas of the meaning of the leading articles of the convention were by no means ſimilar; Capt. Vancouver, expecting that the whole of the lands, harbours, &c. contained in or ſurrounding Nootka Sound, with a port ſixteen leagues to the ſouthward, called port Cox or Clyoquat, were the places of which he was to be put in full poſſeſſion on the part of his Britannic Majeſty. The Spaniſh commandant, on the contrary, governing himſelf by the firſt article of the convention, with which his private orders perfectly agreed, was willing to cede only that place of which the Britiſh ſubjects were diſpoſſeſſed; which, on the fulleſt and moſt impartial reſearch, appeared to be only a ſmall ſpot of land, of, to uſe the expreſſion of Capt. Vancouver,

couver, "little more than a hundred yards in extent any way; the buildings, &c. dwindled to one hut."

The reſult will be this. As Capt. Vancouver diſclaims all retroſpective diſcuſſion, however neceſſary it may be, in the opinion of the Spaniſh commandant, to eſtabliſh the boundaries of thoſe lands of which the ſubjects of Great Britain were diſpoſſeſſed; and as the Spaniſh commandant is only inclined to cede the property of that ſpot juſt now alluded to, with the poſſeſſion of the port, to the Engliſh; which Capt. Vancouver does not think proper to receive, being contrary to his orders and inſtructions, and likewiſe, as he ſuppoſes, to the ſpirit of the convention; nothing effectual or deciſive can be done. The Spaniſh commandant departs to morrow; and Capt. Vancouver has, in one of his letters, ſignified to his Excellency, he will not hoiſt the Britiſh flag on the terms which have been offered him. The veſſel under Capt. Vancouver's command will proceed to the Sandwich or ſome other iſlands in the Pacific ocean immediately. A Spaniſh frigate remains here, and the force of his Catholic Majeſty will be increaſed in a few days. The Spaniards will retain the poſſeſſion and government of the port, which will continue free and open to all nations.

On Tueſday, July 2. and four following days the encœnia was held at Oxford at the inſtallation of the Duke of Portland as Chancellor of the univerſity. Many honorary degrees were conferred upon this occaſion. A greater aſſemblage of polite company has not been known in the univerſity ſince the inſtallation of Lord North, 1773 The price of lodgings was ſo exorbitant, that the heads of colleges univerſally agreed to allow the ſtudents to receive and lodge their friends in their own apartments.

London, July 10. Yeſterday morning at five o'clock the detachment of guards for foreign ſervice paraded in Hyde Park. His Majeſty, attended by the Prince of Wales, the Duke of Glouceſter, Prince William of Glouceſter, and ſeveral general officers, appeared on the ground before ſix o'clock; and after having inſpected the detachment, they marched off to embark at Blackwall.

The detachment of dragoons from the Scotch Greys, and the ſecond regiment, embarked at the ſame time.

Portſmouth, July 15. Yeſterday afternoon, Earl Howe ſailed from St Helen's, with the following ſhips of war:

Ships.	*Guns.*	*Commanders.*
Queen Charlotte	100	Adm. Earl Howe. Capt Sir R. Curtis. J. Hunter.
Royal George	100	V. A. Sir A. Hood. Capt. Domett.
Royal Sovereign	100	Vice A. Graves, Capt Nicholls.
Cumberland	74	R. A. Macbride. Capt. Louis.
Ganges	74	Molloy.
Brunſwick	74	Harley.
Edgar	74	Bertie.
Bellerophon	74	Palley.
Audacious	74	Parker.
Ramilies	74	H. Harvey.
Montague	74	Montague.
Majeſtic	74	Cotton.
Suffolk	74	Rainier.
Sceptre	64	Dacres.
Veteran	64	Nugent.
Inconſtant	36	Montgomery.
Latona	36	Thornborough
Phaeton	36	Sir A. Douglas.
Niger	32	Hon—Legge.
Venus	32	Faulkner.
Pegaſus	28	Barlow.
Lapwing	28	Curzon.
Incendiary fireſhip,		Hope;
Ferret ſloop,		Newell.

In going down the Channel the Bellerophon was ſo much damaged, by running foul of the Majeſtic, that ſhe was obliged to put into Plymouth to repair; whence the London of 98 guns ſailed, on the 22d, to ſupply her place in the fleet.

Harwich, July 15. This ſmall but beautiful camp is completely formed; it conſiſts of three regiments. The poſition choſen, is on the right of the road leading into Harwich, about half a mile from the town, on an elevated dry ſpot; the main ocean in front; in the rear, an arm of the ſea that joins the Manninghee and Ipſwich rivers; on the left, the town of Harwich, forming together the moſt charming picturesque ſcene that can poſſibly be imagined. Gen. Tonyn commands.

Camp at Waterdown, July 16. The camp, conſiſting of twelve militia regiments beſides artillery, is now compleie. The park of artillery came in laſt Friday, and encamped on the right of the line. The horſe cannoneers are alſo on the right. Theſe laſt are certainly a moſt uſeful corps; they have ſix three-pounders, of a long make and light draught, drawn by horſes, and the men who manage

hage them are mounted, ſo that they travel with as much eaſe as expedition. Our commander, the Duke of Richmond, has been on horſeback before four o'clock every morning of the laſt week, except Saturday, reviewing the different corps.

Portſmouth, July 24. This morning arrived at Spithead a Portugueſe ſquadron of men of war, conſiſting of four ſhips of the line, two frigates, and two brigs, under the command of Adm. Tentegat.

IRELAND.

Dublin, July 12. A large mob, to the number of about 1000 men, aſſembled at Erris, county of Mayo, 70 of whom were armed with muſkets, the reſt with bayonets, pikes, &c. They were met by Lt-Col. Hugh O'Donnel, of the South Mayo militia, and Capt. Bell, with a party of the 39th regiment, conſiſting of 40 men. Mr O'Donnel quitted his party, and went among the delinquents, in order to exhort them to a ſenſe of their duty: their anſwer was, that nothing would do, unleſs the ſoldiers would deliver up their arms. Mr O'Donnel then returned to his party, when they were immediately attacked by a diſcharge of muſquetry, &c. on which an engagement took place; when, after a few minutes, the mob retreated, leaving 36 dead, and ſeveral dangerouſly wounded. Many priſoners were taken, among whom is one of the name of Noon, ſuppoſed to be a principal ringleader. Seven of the ſoldiers were wounded. Mr O'Donnel received a ſlight wound in the ancle.

Wexford, July 15. Two men were committed to gaol, charged on oath with being concerned in a riotous mob, who had aſſembled on Monday laſt at Templeſcoby, near Enniſcorthy, and for having arms in their poſſeſſion, loaded with powder and ball. On Thurſday morning an anonymous letter was received, deſiring a reſpectable inhabitant to apply to the magiſtrates to liberate the above men; threatening, in caſe of refuſal, to come in a body of 3000, and burn the town. Little notice was taken of this threat; nor did the inhabitants appear alarmed, till about three o'clock, when a gentleman rode haſtily through the town, to inform the magiſtrates that the mob were not more than a quarter of a mile off, and in great force. This alarming intelligence was immediately communicated to the barracks, and in a few minutes about 50 ſoldiers of the 56th regiment, with three magiſtrates, headed by the brave but unfortunate Maj. Vallotton, marched to meet the inſurgents, who were drawn up at the upper end of John Street, and in the road leading to Taghmon, in readineſs to receive them. The Major, humanely intending to expoſtulate with them, advanced a few paces before his party. Time was not given him to ſpeak. He was knocked down; when a ſhort but deſperate conflict enſued. The Major is ſince dead. The rioters ran off in every direction, having nine men killed on the ſpot, and a conſiderable number wounded, many of whom are ſince dead. Two innocent people, whoſe curioſity led them too near the ſcene of action, unfortunately loſt their lives, and three or four were ſlightly wounded.

SCOTLAND.

Friday, July 12. came on before the high court of Juſticiary at Edinburgh, the trial of John Stirling and Peter Campbell, for breaking into and robbing the houſe of Neilfield of ſeveral articles of value. The Lord Advocate reſtricted the libel to an arbitrary puniſhment; upon which the priſoners pled *guilty*, and the jury returned a verdict, unanimouſly finding them guilty accordingly. The court ſentenced them to be tranſported beyond ſeas for life.

William Stewart, accuſed of houſe-breaking at Renfrew, and whoſe trial was put off at the laſt circuits, petitioned to be allowed to enter in the royal navy; which the court, with the conſent of the Advocate-depute, agreed to.

An advertiſement from the General Poſt-office Edinburgh, dated June 22. intimates, "That a Penny Poſt will be eſtabliſhed on the 5th July for the accommodation of this city and its vicinity, to extend to Leith, Dalkeith, Muſſelburgh, and Preſtonpans, where offices will be eſtabliſhed, and receiving houſes at the following places, viz. one in the Canongate, one in the Graſs-market, one in Chapel-ſtreet, and one in South Hanover ſtreet. All letters for the delivery of Edinburgh, or the above-named places, which are put into this office any time during the evening, and at the receiving houſes before ſeven in the evening, will be delivered early next morning:—and if at any of the receiving houſes by two o'clock afternoon, and at the General Poſt-office before half paſt three, will be delivered the ſame evening."

Williamſon's penny-poſt is given up.

CAPTURES.

By the Britiſh.

By the Phœnix frigate from India, la Pouline, from India to France, brought into Portſmouth.

By the Trial cutter, a French privateer, of 14 guns, ſent into Oſtend.

The Œconomy, from Cadiz to Holland, is retaken by the Brothers of Liverpool, and arrived there. Alſo the Three Brothers, of Dartmouth, fiſh loaden, retaken by the Diſpatch privateer of the ſame place.

By the Speedy, Conington, La Marie Aime, from Mogadore to Marſeilles, carried into Gibraltar.

By the Sukey and Polly, Boog, privateer of St Kitt's, a brig with ſugar, coffee, &c. from Martinique for France; likewiſe a brig with ſlaves from Africa; alſo three other ſmall veſſels.

By the Serpent ſloop of war, Le Goravion of Rochelle, carried into New Providence.

A Sweediſh brig, from the Streights to Oſtend, retaken by the Lark, Driſcol, of Briſtol, arrived in Kingroad.

The King, Gray, laſt from Africa to Jamaica, is arrived after being taken by a French privateer, and retaken by the Hyæna frigate, which drove the privateer on ſhore near Hiſpaniola.

The Catharine, Parker, from Rotterdam to Newcaſtle, taken by the Victor French lugger privateer, is retaken by the Ceres frigate and Nimble cutter: the privateer is alſo taken.

By the Falcon ſloop, a large French brig privateer, after an engagement of three hours off Portland, brought into Portſmouth.

The Ingebourg, Holſt, from Cette to Oſtend, retaken by the Tartar lugger, carried to Guernſey.

The Joſeph, from the Havannah to Spain, taken by a French privateer, is retaken by the Nereus, of Liverpool, and carried into Ireland.

The N. S. de Roſario, Manuel Carneiro, from Porto, with fruit, wine, and oil, taken by a French privateer, was retaken by the Hermione frigate, carried into Madeira.

By the Mary privateer, the Mary, American brig, from Charleſtown to Havre, carried into Weymouth.

By the Syren frigate, le Robert privateer, from Bourdeaux, with 16 guns and 170 men.

By the Caſtor and Mermaid frigates, two French privateers of 14 and 16 guns: alſo retaken their prize, the Sacra Familia Landa, from Montevidio to Cadiz, and taken them to Gibraltar.

The Margaret, Thomſon, from Alicant to Dublin, retaken by the Fancy privateer of Liverpool, and taken to that port.

[illegible]rs, the Jamide Planter, of 14 guns and 90 men, after an hour's engagement, ſent to Guernſey.

The Elizabeth of Briſtol, from Falmouth to Bilboa, retaken, carried into Guernſey.

By the Nereus privateer, the two Friends, from the South Seas to Dunkirk, carried into Liverpool.

Two American ſhips, one from Charleſtown, the other from Philadelphia, for Cape Francois, are taken by privateers from Jamaica.

The Thought privateer, of London, has brought to Falmouth, Le Paſſe Partout, French privateer, of 16 guns, from Bourdeaux, having on board a quantity of dollars and ſome cheſts of ſugar which they took out of a Spaniſh veſſel. Alſo brought to Falmouth, the American ſhips Rawlinſon, with flour and pork, from New York to Havre de Grace, and the Active Flair, from Philadelphia to Nantz, with ſugar, coffee, &c. taken in company with the Weymouth privateer of Weymouth. Alſo retook the Neptune, from the Weſt Indies to Liverpool, and ſent her to that port.

By the Oreſtes ſloop, the Cato, from America for Dunkirk, ſent to Plymouth.

By the Pilgrim, Hutchinſon, of Liverpool, La Liberte, of 800 tons, from India to France, richly laden, carried into Barbadoes.

The Alexander, from London to Jamaica, arrived off Antigua, has taken the Friendſhip from Nantz, to St Domingo.

The Rutland lugger has retaken and carried to Guernſey the Bee, of Southampton, for Waterford, and the Eliſabeth and Clara, of Tingmouth, for Liverpool.

By the Roebuck Forreſt, on the coaſt of Africa, a French ſhip with 200 ſlaves.

The Peregrine American ſhip, from Bourdeaux to St Bartholomew, is ſeized at Dominica by the Neptune letter of marque.

By the Brilliant privateer of Weymouth, Le Sans Pareil, from the Iſles of France to L'Orient.

By the Spaniards.

Retaken, the Manchester, Hall, from Liverpool to Lisbon, taken by the Dumourier privateer.

By the French.

The Chriſtano, a Dane, from Ancona to Barcelona, is ſaid to be taken, and carried into Marſeilles.

The Juſtrow Karren, Hoberſt, from Malaga to Stettin, is taken into Havre de Grace.

The Active, Buſſet, from St Vincent's to Philadelphia, carried into that place.

The Joſeph, France, with wheat from Virginia, carried into Baltimore.

The Fanny, Pike, from Jamaica to Virginia; the John, from New Providence to ditto, and the Spry, Brown, from Virginia to New Providence, are taken by the Sans Culotte privateer from Charleſtown, off the Capes of Virginia.

The General Waſhington, from St Thomas's to Amſterdam, carried into Breſt.

The

The Regt deor Zee, from Rirkzee to London, carried into Dunkirk.

A French trigate, of 36 guns, two ships, one of 26, and the other of 24 guns, with a brig of 18 guns, in lat. 50. lon. 14. took three Engliſh veſſels; alſo an American brig, belonging to Boſton, with naval ſtores, bound to Ireland.

The Janet, Spittal, from Denmark to Leith; and a brig loaded with ſalt and tobacco, belonging to Whitehaven, taken near Peterhead, by a privateer of 18 guns, carried into Bergen.

The Grove, Barnes, from Whitehaven to Bremen, taken into Bergen in Norway.

By the Ambuſcade frigate, the Catharine, Ford, from Jamaica to Philadelphia, carried into New York.

The Hope, Smith, of Scarborough, is carried into Dunkirk, with five other veſſels, taken on the coaſt of Holland.

The Elizabeth, Wilcox, from Tingmouth to Liverpool, is taken off Scilly by a lugger privateer.

The Maſter of a Daniſh veſſel arrived at Yarmouth, ſays he was on board a French privateer, with two 24 lib. Carronades, and a tier of ſwivels, who had taken eleven Engliſh, and four Dutch veſſels; that one of the Engliſh veſſels was loaded with corn.

A ſloop from Newry for Spain, is taken by a lugger privateer, three leagues to the northward of the iſland of Rathlin.

The Induſtry, Stanton, from Charleſtown to London, carried into Breſt.

The Mercury, Hawkins, from Briſtol to Nevis, carried into Breſt.

The Peggy, Brown, of Leith, carried into Norway.

The Helen, Purdy, of Yarmouth, with wheat, is captured by Le Patriote privateer from Dunkirk, and carried into Norway. It is reported, that 17 ſail of Engliſh and Dutch, among whom are two Scots brigs, one from Dantzick, with planks, and the other with coals, for the Needing Light, are taken into Norway.

The Liberty privateer, of Bourdeaux, has taken on the coaſt of Africa, the Proſperity, Kelſale, (which is retaken by the Andromeda frigate, and arrived at Barbadoes,) the Hazard, Rigby; Mercury, Hewitt; and Echo, Kenty, at Cape Mount; the Little Joe, Jones, off the River Junk; the Union, Farrington, off Eaſſa; and the Swift, Roper.—The latter is randomed for 1000l. after being plundered of 224 elephants teeth and 33 ſlaves.

The Britannia, Simpſon, from the South Seas to London, carried to France.

The Hopewell, Mapplebeck, from Devon to London, carried into L'Orient.

The John, Storey, from Tortola to London, and two other Weſt Indiamen, taken by two privateers, carried into Nantz.

MARRIAGES.

May 20. At Philadelphia, George Hammond, Eſq; Miniſter Plenipotentiary to the United States of America, to Miſs Allen, daughter of Mr Allen, late his Majeſty's Attorney-General in America, and granddaughter of the late William Penn, Eſq.

June 27. At Anniſtown, John Slake, Eſq; to Miſs Gray.

July 1. Francis Daſhwood, Eſq; to Lady Anne Maitland, ſiſter to the Earl of Lauderdale.

1. At Paiſley, Mr James Provand, merchant in Glaſgow, to Miſs Elizabeth Maxwell, youngeſt daughter of the deceaſed Charles Maxwell, Eſq; of Merkſworth.

1. At Hamilton, Campbell Douglas, Eſq; late of Jamaica, to Miſs Agnes Marſhall, daughter of Mr Robert Marſhall, merchant in Glaſgow.

3. At Bath, John Palmer Chicheſter, Eſq; of Arlington, to Miſs Hamilton of Bangour.

6. At Dublin, Dudley Loftus, Eſq; of Killyon in the county of Meath, to Lady Jean Gore, youngeſt daughter of the Earl of Arran, by his firſt wife, the ſiſter of the Earl of Annefley.

9. At Woodſtock, John Douglas, Eſq; of Tilliwhilly, to Miſs Penelope Mackenzie, daughter of the late John Mackenzie, Eſq; of Strickathrow.

10. At Waughton Houſe, Alexander Maclean, Eſq; of Ardgower, to Lady Margaret Hope, ſiſter of the Earl of Hopetoun.

11. Mr William Duguid, merchant in Aberdeen, to Miſs Marjory Leſlie, daughter of the late Mr Alexander Leſlie, merchant in Aberdeen.

12. At Edinburgh, David Cathcart of Greenfield, Eſq; Advocate, to Miſs Mary Moore, daughter of Robert Moore, Eſq; of Blairſtown.

13. Hector Macdonald, Eſq; writer to the ſignet, to Miſs Buchannan of Drummakiln.

14. Thomas Durham, Eſq; Captain in the Earl of Hopetoun's fencibles, ſecond ſon of J. C. Durham of Largo, Eſq; to Miſs Young of Netherfield.

15. Samuel Eſtwich, Eſq; ſon of Samuel Eſtwich, Eſq; ſecretary of Chelſea Hoſpital, to the Hon Miſs Hawke, daughter of Lord Hawke.

15. At Glaſgow, Mr Andrew Reid, merchant, to Miſs Janet Paterſon.

16. Dr William Brown, M. D. late in the ſervice of her Imperial Majeſty at Kolyvon, to Miſs Hamilton Walker, daughter of the late Dr Robert Walker of the royal college of Surgeons of Edinburgh.

17. At Sweethope, William M'Caa, Eſq; Newton-Douglas, to Miſs Boyd Mackenzie.

18. At Hawkhill, near Edinburgh, the Hon. Fletcher Norton, one of the Barons of Exchequer, to Miſs Caroline Elizabeth Balmain,

daughter of the late James Balmain, Esq; Commissioner of Excise.

18. Mr Andrew Stephenson, merchant in Glasgow, to Miss Anne Moubray, daughter of Mr Martin Moubray, principal clerk of the General Post-Office, Edinburgh.

18. At Crieff, the Rev. Dr Samuel Gilfillan, in Comrie, to Miss Rachel Barlass, daughter of the Rev. Mr Barlass, in Crieff.

22. Mr James Wood, merchant in Glasgow, to Miss Catharine Gordon, second daughter of the deceased Robert Gordon, Esq; merchant in Greenock.

22. John Macalister, Esq; younger of Auchencarrach, to Miss C. Donald, of Lileston.

23. Mr John Thomson, naval officer, Leith, to Miss Janet Middleton, daughter of George Middleton, Esq; comptroller of the customs at that port.

BIRTHS.

Lately, At Dublin, Viscountess Mountcashel, of a son.

At Dublin, the lady of the Bishop of Kilmore, of a daughter.

At his Lordship's house in Stratford place, Countess Paulett, of a daughter.

July 10. At her house in Hampshire, the Countess of Northesk, of a daughter.

16. At Balgarvie House, Mrs Dalgliesh of Scotscraig, of a son.

22. At Montrose, Mrs George Ogilvie, of a son.

24. At Carnock, Mrs Stewart Nicholson, of a son.

DEATHS.

1792. *Dec.* 23. At Saugur island, Mr Munro, son of Sir Hector Munro.—The fatal catastrophe which put a period to this young gentleman's existence, is thus related by a gentleman to his friend at Calcutta:

"*Ship Shaw Ardasier, off Saugur island, Dec.* 23. 1792. To describe the awful, horrid, and lamentable accident I have been an eye-witness of, is impossible. Yesterday morning Mr Downey, of the Company's troops, Lieut. Pyefinch, poor Mr Munro, (son of Sir Hector) and myself, went on shore on Saugur island to shoot deer. We saw innumerable tracks of tigers and deer, but still we were induced to pursue our sport, and did the whole day. About half past three we sat down on the edge of the jungle, to eat some cold meat sent us from the ship, and had just commenced our meal when Mr Pyefinch and a black servant told us there was a fine deer within six yards of us. Mr Downey and myself immediately jumped up to take our guns; mine was the nearest, and I had just laid hold of it, when I heard a roar, like thunder, and saw an immense royal tiger spring on the unfortunate Munro, who was sitting down. In a moment his head was in the beast's mouth, and he rushed into the jungle with him, with as much ease as I could lift a kitten, tearing him through the thickest bushes and trees, every thing yielding to his monstrous strength. The agonies of horror, regret, and, I must say, fear, (for there were two tigers, male and female,) rushed on me at once. The only effort I could make was to fire at him, though the poor youth was still in his mouth. I relied partly on Providence, partly on my own aim, and fired a musket. I saw the tiger stagger and agitated, and cried out so immediately. Mr Downey then fired two shots, and I one more. We retired from the jungle, and, a few minutes after, Mr Munro came up to us, all over blood, and fell. We took him on our backs to the boat, and got every medical assistance for him from the Valentine East Indiaman, which lay at anchor near the island, but in vain. He lived 24 hours in extreme torture; his head and skull were torn, and broke to pieces, and he was wounded by the claws all over his neck and shoulders; but it was better to take him away, though irrecoverable, than leave him to be devoured limb by limb. We have just read the funeral service over the body, and committed it to the deep. He was an amiable and promising youth. I must observe, there was a large fire blazing close to us, composed of ten or a dozen whole trees; I made it myself, on purpose to keep the tigers off, as I had always heard it would. There were eight or ten of the natives about us; many shots had been fired at the place, and much noise and laughing at the time; but this ferocious animal disregarded all. The human mind cannot form an idea of the scene; it turned my very soul within me. The beast was about four and a half feet high, and nine long. His head appeared as large as an ox's, his eyes darting fire, and his roar when he first seized his prey will never be out of my recollection. We had scarcely pushed our boats from that cursed shore when the tigress made her appearance, raging mad almost, and remained on the sand as long as the distance would allow me to see her."

1793. In April, at Port Antonio, Jamaica, William Hill, Esq; comptroller of the customs for that port.

May 20. At St Vincent's, Mr Houston Wilson, youngest son of the late Alexander Wilson of the Shield-hall.

22. At St Ann's Bay, Mr Daniel Campbell, second son of the late Mr John Campbell, merchant in Edinburgh.

June 12. At Aix-la-Chapelle, in his 43d year, unmarried, Sir James Barclay, Bt, of Nova Scotia, a captain in the royal navy, and formerly commander of the Leander and Windsor Castle men of war. He was the lineal descendant and heir of Sir Rob. Barclay, Knt, of Perlstoun in Airshire, who was created a Baronet of Nova Scotia Oct. 22. 1668.

He

He was interred with military honours in the French Walloon Proteſtant church at Maeſtricht. Robert Barclay, of Aix-la-Chapelle, his only brother, who married Elizabeth, the ſiſter of Richard Fickell, Eſq; one of His Majeſty's commiſſioners of the ſtamp-office, and has iſſue by her a ſon and a daughter, ſucceeds him in his title.

18. Mr John Bathgate, ſurgeon in Grenada.

24. At Highgate, Richard Nevill Viſcount Moleſworth of Ireland.

25. At Rocheſter, Mrs Roche, widow of Capt. David Roche.

26. At Glaſgow, Miſs Iſabel Roſs, daughter of the late Mr Andrew Roſs, profeſſor of Humanity in the univerſity of Glaſgow.

28. Mrs Campbell, relict of the Rev. Dr Campbell, formerly of Greenwich, and ſiſter to the late Sir George Pocock, K. B.

29. At Auchintorlie, Dumbartonſhire, Mrs Grace Campbell, wife of George Buchanan, Eſq; of Auchintorlie, merchant in Glaſgow.

29. At Glaſgow, aged 16, Mr Robert Taylor, third ſon of the Rev. Dr William Taylor, miniſter of the High church.

29. Mr William Biggar, ſurgeon in Biggar.

Lately, at Luffenham, Rutlandſhire, aged 93, Mr Henry Richardſon. He had 19 children, who with their progeny amount to near 200.

At Maryport in Cumberland, aged 112, Mr Jon. Milliken. He was born in the pariſh of Bridekirk in July 1681.

Killed in a conteſt with the rioters at Wexford in Ireland, Major Vallotton. His father was librarian to George II. [p. 357.]

July 1. At Edinburgh, in the 86th year of his age, the Hon. James Veitch, of Elliock, one of the Senators of the College of Juſtice, and Deputy Governor of the Royal Bank. He was admitted Advocate 11th February 1738, having previouſly ſerved an apprenticeſhip with his father, who was a writer to the ſignet. He had not practiſed long at the Bar when the idea of viſiting foreign countries ſuggeſted itſelf to his mind. When in Germany he was introduced to the great Frederic King of Pruſſia; and his abilities and converſation became ſo much the notice of that illuſtrious Monarch, that he remained much longer at his court than the time he had allotted for his whole travels, and after his departure a correſpondence was kept up between them. In 1755, he was elected repreſentative in parliament for Dumfrieſſhire, in which honourable ſtation he continued till March 6. 1761, when he was promoted to a ſeat on the Bench, in room of Lord Bankton.

2. At Foley Houſe, Chandos-ſtreet, Cavendiſh-ſquare, Thomas Foley Baron Foley of Kidderminſter, county of Worceſter. He was born July 7. 1742; married March 20. 1776, Harriet, fourth daughter of the late Earl of Harrington, by whom he had iſſue, Georgina, William-Thomas, Charles, and Thomas; and is ſucceeded by his eldeſt ſon, William-Thomas, now in his 16th year.

2. In Great Ruſſel-ſtreet, Bloomſbury, Col. William Hamilton. He was of the Abercorn family, and one of the oldeſt officers in the ſervice.

2. Aged 66, James Scott, Eſq. of Scallaway.

2. At Water-of-Leith, near Edinburgh, aged 75, Mr James Fraſer, near forty years clerk to the incorporation of bakers of Edinburgh.

3. At his houſe, Ely lodge, Fifeſhire, James Kyd, Eſq.

3. At Edinburgh, Mr Thomas Allan, late 4th officer of the Deptford Eaſt-Indiaman.

7. At Fountainbridge, aged 17, Mr John Fyffe, only ſon of Mr James Fyffe, merchant in Edinburgh.

7. At Edinburgh, Mr James Fairbairn, bookſeller.

8. At Elland, Yorkſhire, the Rev. George Burnett, M. A. miniſter of that place. He was a native of Scotland, and deſcended from a collateral branch of Biſhop Burnet's family.

8. In his 43d year, Mr Thomas Preſton of Great Chapel-ſtreet, Oxford-ſtreet, the firſt ale-brewer of the age. He was a native of that part of Staffordſhire near Birmingham; came to London at the age of ſeven, and drove a diſtiller's cart ſome years. His uncle, Mr Price, was a brewer, in the houſe of Stretton, Price, and Stace. He was taken into this houſe as a ſervant; and his talents as a judge of malt and hops ſoon gave him the pre-eminence at the copper-ſide, where he directed the buſineſs more than twenty years, and, by his judgement, brought it to its preſent celebrity, by increaſing it latterly, at the rate of 1000 barrels a-year. From Michaelmas to Midſummer laſt they brewed 19,622 barrels of ale. By his ſteady attachment to the buſineſs, he was fifteen years ago taken into partnerſhip, and ſurvived all the other partners.

8. At Chapel-hall, Mrs Janet Sydſerf.

10. At his ſeat of Grathwaitehall, in Lancaſhire, Myles Sandys, Eſq.

11. At Glaſgow, William Donald, Eſq; merchant.

11. Mrs Mackenzie, wife of the Rev. Mr Alexander Mackenzie, miniſter of St Paul's church, Sheffield, and chaplain to the late regiment of Athol Highlanders.

11. At Falkirk, Mr John Johnſton writer.

13. At Moffat, Mrs Scott, wife of the Rev. Mr Alexander Scott of Rotterdam, and daughter

daughter of the late Mr John Marſhall, miniſter of Tinwald.

14. At Champſleurie, Linlithgowſhire, Alexander Johnſtone, Eſq; of Straiton.

15. At Leeds Caſtle, Kent, in his 87th year, Robert Lord Fairfax of Cameron in Scotland. He was the youngeſt ſon of Thomas the fifth Lord Fairfax, whoſe great uncle was the memorable General Sir Thomas Fairfax, who conducted the parliament army in the time of Cromwell, againſt Charles I. and who, with Gen. Monk, aſſiſted in reſtoring his ſon, Charles II. to the throne.

15. In the camp of Ciſoin, the Hon. Robert C. Southwell, of 3d dragoon-guards, only brother of Lord de Clifford.

15. At Ardmillan, Ayrſhire, Thomas Crawford, Eſq.

16. At Elgin, Miſs Chriſtina Tereſa Grant, daughter of Sir James Grant of Grant, Bt.

16. At his houſe, St Stephen's Green, Dublin, Edmund Butler Viſcount Mountgarret and Baron of Kells.

18. At Torſonce, Mrs Margaret Pringle, daughter of the deceaſed James Pringle, Eſq; of Torwoodlee.

20. At Falkirk, the Rev. Mr John Muir, miniſter of that pariſh.

22. At Morningſide, near Edinburgh, in his 73d year, Francis Garden of Gardenſton, (Lord Gardenſton), one of the Senators of the College of Juſtice. His Lordſhip, ſecond ſon of Alexander Garden of Troup, by Jane, daughter of Sir Francis Grant of Cullen, S. C. J. was born at Edinburgh, June 24. 1721, commenced advocate 1744, and afterwards became his Majeſty's ſolicitor. July 3. 1764, he was promoted to the Bench; and he was alſo one of the Lords Commiſſioners of Juſticiary, but reſigned his ſeat there ſome years ago, and, in recompence, got a penſion of 200 l. On the death of his brother, Alexander Garden of Troup, M. P. for Aberdeenſhire, in 1785 he ſucceeded to the eſtate of Troup, of 3000 l. a-year, and an ample perſonal fortune, extending, as is ſaid, to 40,000 l. His profeſſional character derived great luſtre from his exertions in the Douglas cauſe, in which he was oppoſed by the preſent Lord Chancellor, (then Mr Wedderburn), before the parliament of Paris, where his Lordſhip's legal knowledge, and fluent elocution in the French language, procured him univerſal admiration from all who were preſent. His Lordſhip was diſtinguiſhed for his genius, taſte, wit and humour. Among the public works which do him honour, are the village of Laurencekirk, planned by his Lordſhip, and St Bernard's Well, near Edinburgh, built after the model of a temple at Tivoli, in Italy. [vol. 51. p. 653.] He is ſucceeded in his large eſtates by his nephew Francis Garden of Dalgety, a captain in 53d foot.

22. At Dalziel, Miſs Hamilton of Dalziel.

23. In Noel-ſtreet, Soho, aged 55, Mr Borak Longmate, an eminent heraldic engraver. He was editor of the laſt edition of Colins's peerage, 1779, 8 vols 8vo.

26. At Annfield, Fifeſhire, Mrs Eliſabeth Straiton, relict of Capt. Walkinſhaw.

27. Miſs Tod of Inverouglas.

27. At Gourock, Capt. Robert Duthie.

Preferments.

From the London Gazette.

The King has been pleaſed,

Whitehall, June 28. to confer the honour of knighthood on Capt. Edward Pellew, of the navy.

29. to grant the dignity of an Earl and Marquis of Great Britain to Francis Seymour Conway, Earl of Hertford, K. G. and the heirs male of his body lawfully begotten, by the names, ſtyles, and titles of Earl of Yarmouth in the county of Norfolk, and Marquis of Hertford.

Alſo to grant the dignity of an Earl of Great Britain to Henry Lord Porcheſter, and the heirs-male of his body lawfully begotten, by the name, ſtyle, and title of Earl of the town and county of Carnarvon, in the Principality of Wales.

To appoint George Poyntz Ricketts, Eſq; to be Captain-general and Governor in Chief of the iſland of Tobago.

St James's, July 3. to appoint the Rt Hon. Henry Dundas, one of the Principal Secretaries of State, to be Cuſtos Rotulorum of the county of Middleſex and of the city and liberty of Weſtminſter.

Whitehall, July 6. to appoint John Anſtruther, of Lincoln's Inn, Eſq; to be Juſtice of the counties of Carnarvon, Merioneth, and Angleſea, in the Principality of Wales.

Alſo to appoint William Grant, of Lincoln's Inn, Eſq; to be one of the Juſtices of the counties of Carmarthen, Pembroke, and Cardigan, and of the town and county of Haverford Weſt, and of the county of the borough of Carmarthen, within the Principality of Wales.

Whitehall, July 13. to appoint the Rt Hon. John Spencer to be Envoy Extraordinary to the court of Stockholm:

Francis Drake, Eſq; to be Miniſter Plenipotentiary to the republic of Genoa:

The Hon. William Eliot to be Secretary of Embaſſy to the States General of the United Provinces, and Miniſter Plenipotentiary in the abſence of the Ambaſſador:

George Henry Roſe, Eſq; to be Secretary of Legation to the court of Berlin: And

James Craufurd, Eſq; to be Secretary of Legation to the court of Copenhagen.

27. to appoint the Rt Hon. Sir Richard Worſley, Bt, to be Miniſter reſident at Venice.

Com-

Commiſſions ſigned by his Majeſty for the army in Ireland.

58th foot: Capt. William Cunninghame to be Major, vice Macmyne, reſigned; dated Jan 31. 1793.

33d foot: Capt. Hon. Arthur Weſley, from 18th dragoons, to be Major, vice Gore, reſigned; dated April 30.

War office, June 29.

1ſt life-guards Lieut. Terence O'Bryan O'Loghlin to be Adjutant and Lieutenant, by purchaſe, vice Johnſton, promoted in 6th dragoons

Staff. To be Majors of Brigade to the forces:—Capt. Forbes Campagné, of 23d foot, Capt. William Purves, from half-pay of late independent companies.

July 9. Staff. To be Majors of Brigade to the forces:—Capt. Mundiford Allan, from half pay of late independent companies, Capt. William Dyot of 4th foot.

July 13. 61ſt foot: Brev. Lt-Col. William Owen, to be Lieutenant-Colonel, by purchaſe, vice Gordon, who retires. Capt. Francis Carruthers to be Major, vice Owen.

Staff. Lt-Col. John St Leger, of 1ſt foot guards, to be Deputy Adjutant General to the forces on the continent under the command of the Duke of York.

Col Robert Johnſtone, of 3d foot guards, to be Deputy Quarter-Maſter General to ſaid forces.

Capt. Gerald Fitzgerald, of 1ſt foot guards, to be Deputy Judge Advocate to ſaid forces.

Capt. Alexander Sutherland of the royal engineers, to be Bridge-maſter to ſaid forces.

——— Sontag to be Captain of Guides to ſaid forces.

Surgeon Patrick Dundon, from half-pay, to be Surgeon to the forces in Great Britain.

To be Majors of Brigade to the Forces:—Capt. Bryan Philpot, and Capt. John Sullivan Wood, of the independent companies.

July 23. Staff. To be Majors of Brigade to the forces:—Capt Edward Davis of 60th foot, Capt.-Lieut. John Thomas of 28th foot.

July 27. Weſt lowland ſencible men: Maj. Alexander Donaldſon to be Lieutenant Colonel, vice Lord Kennedy, who reſigns. Capt. Archibald Douglas to be Major, vice Donaldſon.

From other Papers.

May 22. The Univerſity and King's College of Aberdeen conferred the degree of Doctor of Medicine upon Colin Chiſholm, Eſq; ſurgeon of the ordnance at Grenada.

July 3. The magiſtrates of Edinburgh unanimouſly elected the Rev. Dr George Baird, Profeſſor of Oriental Languages, and one of the miniſters of that city, to be Principal of the univerſity of Edinburgh, in room of the Rev. Dr Robertſon, deceaſed.

Mr Leſlie Moody is appointed aſſiſtant to St Andrew's Church, in the room of Mr Thomas Campbell, who has been preſented to the pariſh of Ancrum.

The magiſtrates of Edinburgh have appointed the Rev. Mr William Moodie, one of the miniſters of that city, Profeſſor of Oriental Languages in the univerſity, in room of Dr Baird.

Alexander Oſborn, Eſq; is appointed Solicitor of the cuſtoms for Scotland, in the room of William Menzies, Eſq; deceaſed.

8. Mr Sheriff Pringle was elected one of the Directors of the Muſical Society, in room of Alex. Wight, Eſq; Advocate, deceaſed.

18 Mr Alexander Niven was ordained Miniſter of the united pariſhes of Dunkeld and Dowally, vacant by the tranſlation of Dr Baird to the New Grayfriars, Edinburgh.

18. The Aſſociate preſbytery of Edinburgh ordained Mr James Scott, preacher of the goſpel, Miniſter to the new meeting-houſe at Portſburgh.

23. The Governors of Heriot's Hoſpital elected Baille James Jackſon to be Treaſurer, in room of Mr Leſlie.

BANKRUPTS.

June 29. Gavin and Malcolm Monteith, merchants in Glaſgow, as a company; and Gavin and Malcolm Monteith, as individuals.

29. James Macarthur in Cuile, Argyleſhire.

29. John Turner, ſpirit dealer in Glaſgow.

29 Thomas Paterſon, diſtiller in Stuchenford, pariſh of St Ninian's and county of Stirling.

July 2. James Brown, merchant in Stirling.

2 Donald Gray, tackſman of Glenmacree, drover, and dealer in cattle

2. John Gray, tackſman in Kilbride, drover, and dealer in cattle.

2. Britiſh Woollen Company at Dudhope Caſtle, near Dundee, or Boulton, Vancouver, & Co. or J. G Vancouver & Co.; and Dary Boulton, Philip Morgan, Thomas Morgan, John Gaſper Vancouver, and Benjamin Stowe, as individuals.

3. David Allan, weaver and manufacturer in Nether Tenements of Caldhame.

3. Archibald Macneill, ſhipmaſter in Campbeltown.

3. William, Robert, and Samuel Herries, drovers and cattle-dealers, in Bank of Dee, as a company, and as individuals.

3. James Livingſton & Co. haberdaſhers, Edinburgh.

3. John Malcolm, manufacturer in Nether Tenements of Caldhame, and pariſh of Brechin.

4. James Steell, cattle-dealer and tenant in Burn Brae, pariſh of Strathaven.

4. Robert Shiels, merchant and tobacconiſt, Glaſgow.

4. Thomas Chalmers, merchant, Dyſart.

5. Agnes Fergueſſon, merchant in Kilmarnock, and John Fergueſſon wright there, her huſband.

5. Robert

5. Robert Armour, jun. ſhoemaker, Kilmarnock.

11. Thomas Macgill, ſhip-builder, Port-Glaſgow.

12. John White, farmer and horſe-dealer, Loch head.

15. George Leſlie, merchant, Edinburgh.

15. John Nicol, wright in Forfar

16. William Haſtie, cattle-dealer and drover in Breoch.

16. Pringle and Baillie, merchants in Leith, as a company; and Andrew Pringle and Alexander Bailie, as individuals.

16 William Walker, merchant in Belfaſt.

18. Charles Lamont, merchant and confectioner in Glaſgow.

19. Peter Rutherford, merchant, Brechin.

23. John Marſhall, charge-keeper and horſe-dealer in Glaſgow.

23. Wilſon, Moody, & Co merchants Glaſgow, as a company.

23. James Corbet & Co. manufacturers in Glaſgow.

Roderick Fraſer, merchant in Glaſgow.

25. James Graham, vintner in Balfron, Stirlingſhire.

25. Robert Carſwell jun. manufacturer in Paiſley.

25. James M'Skimming in Holms.

25. Edward Innes, confectioner in Edinburgh.

26. John Little, merchant and grocer in Edinburgh.

27. William Mackean, merchant in Dumbarton.

27. William Caldwell of Yardfoot, cotton manufacturer in Lochwinnoch.

27. William Key, merchant and manufacturer in Paiſley.

29. William Byram, innkeeper at Holytoun.

29. James and Archibald Buchanan & Co. cotton ſpinners at Adelphi, and manufacturers in Glaſgow, as a company; and the ſaid James and Archibald Buchanan, as individuals.

30. William Thomſon, wright and cotton-machine maker in Glaſgow.

30. James Kerr, merchant in Edinburgh.

30. James Swan, farmer and cattle-dealer in Boghead, in the pariſh of Auchinleck, and county of Ayr.

31. William Fleming and James Bachop, diſtillers in Paiſley, partners in trade, under the firm of William Fleming & Co. diſtillers in Paiſley, as partners and as individuals.

31. Donald Mackinlay, merchant, Stirling.

31. Archibald and James Corbetts, manufacturers in Glaſgow; and James Corbett, ſurviving partner, as an individual.

Prices of Grain at Haddington, July 26.

Wheat, 25 s. 6 d. Barley, 24 s. 6d. Oats, 19 s. 6 d. Peaſe, 21 s. 6 d. Beans, 20 s.

Edinburgh, July 26. Oat-meal, 1s. 3d. Bear-meal, 12 d. Peaſe-meal, 10½ d.

Edinburgh Bill of Burials for July.

Burial places.	*Males.*	*Females.*	*Total.*
Grayfriars and Lady Yeſter's,	28	26	54
Weſt-kirk, -	20	26	46
Canongate, -	20	13	33
Calton, - -	18	16	34
Total,	86	81	167

Age.			
Under	2		64
Between	2 &	5	19
	5 &	10	11
	10 &	20	8
	20 &	30	6
	30 &	40	11
	40 &	50	14
	50 &	60	11
	60 &	70	13
	70 &	80	6
	80 &	90	3
	90 &	100	1
			167
Decreaſed			11

Diseases, &c.	No
Aged — — —	8
Aſthma — — —	2
Bowelhive — —	14
Childbed — —	2
Chincough — —	7
Conſumption —	44
Cramp in ſtomach —	1
Dropſy — — —	2
Fever — —	16
Flux — — —	2
Jaundice — — —	1
Meaſles — —	9
Mortification —	1
Palſy — — —	2
Smallpox — —	33
Stillborn — —	8
Suddenly — —	2
Teething — —	10
Water in head — —	3

PRICES OF STOCKS, July 13.

Bank Stock, 176⅛ a ¼ a ⅜.
3 per cent. red. 77⅞ a 78.
3 per cent. conſ. 78⅝ a ½ a ¾ a ⅝.
Scrip 79½ a ⅝ a ⅝.
4 per cent. 92½ a ⅝.
South Sea Old Ann 78.
Long Ann. 22 3-16ths a ¼.
Short Ann. 10⅛ a 1-16th.
India Stock, 215¼ a ⅜ a ½.
India Bonds. 3 s. a 4 s. prem.
Exchеq. Bills, 1 s diſc.
Commercial ditto (1th claſs) 1 s. a 2 s. (2d ditto) 4 s. (3d ditto) 6 s a 7 s. (4th ditto) 13 s. a 15 s diſc.
New Navy Bills, 8 a 7⅞ a 8 diſc.
Engliſh Tickets, 14 l. 6 d.
Iriſh tickets, 5 l. 12 s.

July 30.

Bank Stock 176½.
3 per cent. red. 77⅞ a 78.
3 per cent. conſ. 77¼ a ⅜ a ½.
4 per cent. 92¼ a ½.
5 per cent. 109⅞ a ¼.
Long Ann. 22 5-16ths a ⅜.
Short Ann. 10⅛ a 3-16ths.
India Stock, 210¼.
India Bonds, 7 s. prem.
Exchequer Bills, par.
New Navy Bills, 5⅞ diſc.
Eng. Tick. 14 l. 1 s.
Iriſh ditto 5 l. 11 s.

THE SCOTS MAGAZINE.

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Account of the Life and Character of Dr DRYSDALE.

[From Dryſdale's Sermons, publiſhed by Profeſſor DALZEL.]

DR JOHN DRYSDALE was born at Kirkaldy, in the county of Fife, on the 29th of April 1718; being the third ſon of the Rev. Mr John Dryſdale miniſter of Kirkaldy, and of Anne Ferguſon, daughter of William Ferguſon, Eſq; provoſt or chief magiſtrate of the ſame town. He received the elements of claſſical learning at the pariſh-ſchool, under David Miller, a man who had alſo the honour of inſtructing the celebrated Adam Smith, and James Oſwald of Dunikeir, perſons who have reflected ſo much luſtre on their country, the one as a philoſopher and man of letters, and the other as an eminent ſtateſman. Under the ſame maſter were alſo educated Dr John Oſwald, biſhop of Raphoe in Ireland, and Dr George Kay, one of the miniſters of Edinburgh, men likewiſe of conſiderable talents and accompliſhments. So that Miller had reaſon to boaſt, that few individual maſters of the moſt opulent and celebrated ſchools had ſent from their tuition a greater number of eminent men, than had been ſent by him from the obſcure ſchool of Kirkaldy.

While at ſchool, John Dryſdale greatly diſtinguiſhed himſelf as a claſſical ſcho-

lar; and there he contracted that ſtrict friendſhip with the moſt eminent of his ſchool-fellows, particularly Mr Oſwald and Mr Smith, which continued unimpaired through life. When he was thought to be ſufficiently prepared for the univerſity, to which young men go at a much earlier period in this country than in England, he was ſent to college at Edinburgh in the year 1732. He there proſecuted his ſtudies with great ſucceſs, and ſoon attracted the notice of the profeſſors, by the rapid progreſs he made in the acquiſition of knowledge. After paſſing through the ordinary courſes of languages and philoſophy, he engaged in the ſtudy of divinity, the ultimate object of his repairing to the univerſity; and having proſecuted this the uſual time, he was admitted to trials, according to the forms of the church of Scotland, before the preſbytery of Kirkaldy; and by them licenſed to preach the goſpel in the year 1740.

Having for ſeveral years been employed as aſſiſtant miniſter in the College church at Edinburgh,

He, in the year 1748, obtained a crown preſentation to the church of Kirkliſton in Weſt Lothian, by the intereſt of the late John Earl of Hopetoun, to whom he had been recommended by William Adam, Eſq; of Maryburgh, architect; whoſe third daughter he afterwards married.

In entering upon this charge, he met with ſome ſlight oppoſition, owing to an opinion induſtriouſly propagated, that the ſtyle and method of his preaching were not ſufficiently popular, and that his diſcourſes contained too great a proportion of the doctrines of morality. But this objection was ſoon obviated, after the people of the pariſh became better acquainted with him; among whom he had not remained long, till he became the object of a very general regard and eſteem, not only by the kindneſs of his diſpoſition, and his unwearied beneficence, but from the intereſting and animated manner in which he inculcated the great truths of religion and morality in his ſermons. Even the loweſt of the people reſpected and revered his character. Such was the ſucceſs with which his inſtructions were attended, that it was obſerved of the morals of the inhabitants of the village in particular, which had been formerly noted for irregularity and vice, that they underwent a ſurpriſing change for the better during the time of Mr Dryſdale's miniſtry; a ſtrong proof of the great utility of well-qualified teachers of pure and undefiled religion in any ſtate!

Thus he lived for fifteen years, diſcharging, with fidelity, the functions of a country-clergyman, enjoying the domeſtic ſociety of his own family, and the converſation of many literary and clerical friends, who occaſionally viſited him.

At length, in the year 1763, his ſincere and ſtedfaſt friend, Mr Oſwald, found an opportunity of ſerving him, by prevailing with the late Earl of Bute, to uſe his influence with the town council of Edinburgh, that Mr Dryſdale might be admitted one of the miniſters of that city.

Being appointed miniſter of Lady Yeſter's, the ſermons which he preached in that church attracted always a great concourſe of hearers, whom he never failed to delight and inſtruct, by an eloquence of the moſt nervous and intereſting kind. Both his train of thought, and his manner of expreſſion, were evidently ſuch as ſtrongly indicated a vigorous underſtanding, an original genius, and profound knowledge of the human heart.

His reputation as a preacher afterwards roſe ſo high, that on occaſion of an excurſion which he made to London to viſit his friends and relations there, the late Mr Strahan earneſtly requeſted, that he would furniſh him with a volume of ſermons for publication. His friends preſſed him much to embrace this propoſal; and he ſeemed at length diſpoſed to comply with their wiſhes. For, on his return to Scotland, he began to reviſe his ſermons, with a view to make a ſelection for publication; but he had not proceeded far, till his diffidence induced him to procraſtinate, and at laſt to relinquiſh, every reſolution of that ſort.

The ſame native diffidence and modeſty were likewiſe the cauſe of his declining to appear as a ſpeaker in the judicatories of the church. While he remained in the country, he ſeemed rather to avoid taking much concern in the management of church-affairs; but on his coming to Edinburgh, he found himſelf ſo much connected with Dr Robertſon, to whom he was always greatly attached as a friend, and to whom he conſidered himſelf as under great obligations, particularly for the earneſt and effectual manner in which he had eſpouſed his intereſt, in his tranſlation to town, that he reſolved

to

to give that eminent leader every aſſiſtance in his power, in ſupport of what was called the moderate party in the church.

Without any ſolicitation on his part, and even without his knowledge, the Mariſchal College of Aberdeen conferred on him the degree of Doctor in Divinity, by diploma, bearing date the 15th of April 1765; and the following year, the death of the Rev. Dr John Jardine having produced a vacancy in the Tron church, which is collegiate, Dr Dryſdale was tranſlated thither, from Lady Yeſter's, which is a ſingle charge. He there had the good fortune to have for his colleague the Reverend Dr George Wiſhart, principal clerk to the church, for whom he had long entertained the higheſt eſteem and reſpect. Dr Wiſhart, in his turn, having a moſt ſincere affection for him, they found the greateſt comfort in being now ſo nearly connected. Never did two colleagues live together in more cordial and uninterrupted habits of friendſhip; their conſtant ſtudy being to oblige each other, by a perpetual ſeries of good offices.

By the death of Dr Jardine likewiſe, Dr Dryſdale now obtained a ſhare in the few clerical offices which the Crown has to beſtow on the clergy of Scotland. By royal warrant, he was appointed one of his Majeſty's chaplains, with one third of the emoluments of the deanery of the chapel-royal. The late Marquis of Rockingham was then prime miniſter; and he was determined in his choice of Dr Dryſdale, ſolely by the recommendation of Dr Robertſon.

As this office much improved Dr Dryſdale's pecuniary circumſtances, it furniſhed him with the means of indulging his inclination for domeſtic hoſpitality, to a much greater extent than he had hitherto done. His houſe was open at all times to his numerous friends and acquaintance; and it was their frequent place of reſort. There, in particular, many of the younger clergy, and other young men, enjoyed the advantage of his agreeable converſation, and never were happier than when in his company. There was ſomething ſo cheerful, ſo unaſſuming, ſo benign, and, at the ſame time, ſo upright and decided in his manner, that he gained the eſteem and good will of all who had any connection with him, without ever exciting the leaſt degree of envy. Even ſuch as were of different ſentiments in church-affairs eſteemed the man; and with ſeveral of theſe he maintained a very friendly intercourſe. As his turn of thinking on all ſubjects was clear, acute, and judicious, he was very expert in the method of conducting affairs. He had a peculiar facility and elegance of expreſſion in the numerous letters he had occaſion to write, in a moſt extenſive correſpondence which he carried on throughout the church. Whoever applied to him for a favour, even from the remoteſt parts of the kingdom, never found the application treated with neglect; but, on the contrary, was ſoon convinced, that Dr Dryſdale had made every practicable exertion in his behalf. With ſuch talents and ſuch diſpoſitions, it is not to be wondered, that in a few years he ſhould have had a very great influence in the church; and that the party with which he was connected ſhould have derived eſſential advantage from his ſteady activity, prudence, and popularity.

In the year 1773, Dr Dryſdale's numerous friends thought it due time to raiſe him to the dignity of Moderator of the General Aſſembly; the greateſt mark of reſpect which an eccleſiaſtical commonwealth can beſtow on any of its members; and being accordingly choſen without oppoſition, he diſcharged the duties of the office with great ſatisfaction to the venerable court, and credit to himſelf.

In 1784, Dr Dryſdale was, by a very great majority of votes, ſeated a ſecond time in the Moderator's chair.

At the meeting of the Aſſembly in May 1788, he appeared in his place, and acted as principal clerk the firſt day; but finding his ſtrength unequal to the remaining parts of the duty, on the ſecond day he requeſted permiſſion of the court to be aſſiſted by his friend and relation, who now pays this willing tribute to his memory; and his requeſt was unanimouſly granted.

But he did not long ſurvive the Aſſembly of that year. Early in the month of June, his cough attacked him with extraordinary violence, and ſoon weakened him ſo much, that he could no longer riſe from his bed. He ſtill however retained his wonted endearing manner to his family, — only leſs animated, but affecting in the utmoſt degree. Thus he continued to grow weaker and weaker, until his conſtitution at laſt ſeemed to be

quite worn out; and in him the church of Scotland loſt one of her greateſt ornaments, on the 16th of June 1788.

Such was the concluſion of the well-ſpent life of this excellent perſon; whoſe integrity was inflexible, whoſe amiable converſation and manners were expreſſive of the extreme worth and benevolence of his heart, whoſe reſpectable character adorned his ſacred profeſſion, and who was the delight of his friends, and of his family. Though gentle, unſuſpicious, and candid, in an extraordinary degree, yet, as his ſoul was inſpired with that noble elevation which ariſes from conſcious virtue, and freedom from all deceit, his indignation was excited, whenever he detected in others any duplicity in conduct, or any deviation from the road of honour. As, in his public appearances, the energy and animation with which he delivered and enforced his inſtructions, carried a conviction that they flowed directly from the heart; ſo it was univerſally allowed by all thoſe who were acquainted with his private life, that never any man more ſucceſsfully illuſtrated what he taught, by his own conduct and manners."

From the preceding biographical ſketch, the public will be prepared to give Dr Dryſdale's ſermons a favourable reception; and thoſe who eſtimate the merit of ſermons by their utility, will find theſe volumes a very valuable addition to the public ſtock of inſtruction. Though not ſtudiouſly ornamented with the lighter decorations of rhetoric, they excel in manly ſimplicity and energy of ſtyle: — but their greateſt praiſe is, that they abound with good ſenſe, and breathe a warm ſpirit of piety and virtue. Many general topics of practical religion are diſcuſſed, with a variety of matter which diſcovers a mind inured to reflection and obſervation, and frequently with a degree of animation which leaves the reader impreſſed at the ſame time that he is inſtructed. Preſerving a happy medium between inſipid triteneſs and ſcholaſtic refinement, they will afford young preachers a good pattern for popular addreſs. Though, in doctrinal points, the ſyſtem of the church of Scotland is followed, even controverted ſubjects are treated practically. The method is every where clear, the arrangement is accurate, and a unity of deſign is commonly preſerved. In the words of Mr Moodie, one of the miniſters of Edinburgh, in a character of theſe ſermons prefixed to the volumes, which we could without much ſcruple have adopted, we add, "Theſe ſermons ſeem admirably calculated to inſpire the mind with high ſentiments of piety to God, truſt in Providence, independence on the world, admiration of virtue, ſteady and reſolute attachment to duty, and contempt of every thing that is baſe and diſhonourable.

Extracts from a Pamphlet juſt publiſhed, intitled, "An attempt to eſtabliſh the Baſis of Freedom on ſimple and unerring Principles, in a ſeries of Letters, by C. Patton." 1s. 6d. *Hill.*

LETTER II.

IT ſeems to be generally allowed, that the repreſentative ſyſtem is the beſt form of government in a free ſtate; but there has been great difference in opinion with reſpect to the weight which *property* ſhould have in the choice of repreſentatives.

In my firſt letter I endeavoured to ſhow, that *property* is naturally attended with a certain degree of influence and power, which is abſolutely neceſſary to its exiſtence; that the preſervation of *property* and of perſonal freedom were of equal importance in a free ſtate; that theſe two powers have a natural tendency to encroach upon each other; and that no real freedom can exiſt, where either the one or the other is allowed to preponderate.

If theſe facts be admitted, it ſeems neceſſarily to follow, that the repreſentatives of a free people ſhould be choſen, one half by the *property*, and one half by the *perſons* independent of the property: otherwiſe *property* would be wholly in the power of *perſons* to whom it did not belong; or *perſons* in the power of *property*, which would have an intereſt and inclination to oppreſs them.

In order to place theſe obſervations in a clearer point of view, let us ſuppoſe, that in a free ſtate, under a repreſentative form of government, where liberty and property ought to be held ſacred, all the lands juſtly belonged to one man: If, in theſe circumſtances, the people elected the whole of the repreſentatives, what ſecurity would this man have that his property would be ſafe? It would be left in the power of thoſe who would have a ſtrong and an unreſtrained temptation to infringe upon it. But if he elected one half of the repreſentatives, it would be their eſſential duty to preſerve his property inviolate.

violate. The people would likewiſe be effectually protected from his enormous power, by their proportion of the repreſentation. And by this equal diviſion of the repreſentative body, a perfectly free government would ſubſiſt, even where wealth was ſo very unequally divided. The ſame thing muſt happen, were the lands or great property in the hands of ten men, ten thouſand men, or any other number.

On the other hand, if every individual of a nation, except one man, had an equal and a large ſhare of property, and if that man had none; he would be an outcaſt of their ſociety, void of conſequence, and unprotected by the laws, and they might compel him to do whatever they pleaſed. But if he elected one half of the repreſentatives of the legiſlative body, it would become their eſſential duty to protect his perſonal freedom againſt the accumulated influence of the whole property. And the ſame thing muſt happen were ten men, or ten millions of men in this ſituation.

From the arguments which I have uſed, illuſtrated by theſe examples, you will readily perceive, that it is abſolutely impoſſible to make the great *property* of a nation perfectly ſecure, in a country governed by a repreſentative body, unleſs that *property* elects one half of the legiſlative aſſembly. And you will likewiſe perceive, that perſonal freedom cannot be perfectly ſafe, unleſs *perſons*, independent of property, elect one half of the repreſentatives.

I am aware, that the impoſſibility of preſerving an exact equality in a body of men, ſubject to human paſſions and infirmities, may be urged againſt this ſcheme; for, if they were left to themſelves, they would ſoon be convulſed by intrigue, or miſled by eloquence; bribed, perhaps, by the rich, or overawed by the mob. But theſe evils, as experience has ſhown, are ſuſceptible of a remedy, which I mean to explain when I come to treat of the executive part of government.

It may likewiſe be ſaid, that the terms which I have uſed, of "great *Property* independent of perſons," and of "*Perſons* independent of property," do not exactly apply, in the ſenſe in which I have uſed them, as all perſons have ſome property, and all property belongs to perſons. I am ready to allow the juſtice of this obſervation, and am ſorry that I could not find terms perfectly adequate to explain my meaning, not chooſing to uſe thoſe which have been perverted by the prejudices of party. In order, however, to remove all doubt on this ſubject, I ſhall in my next letter give ſuch an explanation of thoſe terms, as will, I hope, prevent miſtakes, and convey a clear idea of the ſenſe in which I wiſh to have them underſtood.

LETTER III.

——By the term *property*, or *property* independent of perſons, I mean the poſſeſſors of the great, viſible, and permanent property, which in all ſtates having extended and valuable territory, muſt conſiſt in a majority of the proprietors of the lands: their power and influence extends to all thoſe who are attracted by their wealth, connected with them by intereſt, or hired by their pay.

By the term *perſons*, or *perſons* independent of property, I mean the great body of the people, who in general depend more for their ſubſiſtence on perſonal labour and exertions, than upon permanent property: their power conſiſts chiefly in their numbers, and their influence extends to all thoſe who depend more upon them than upon great property; and among their adherents are found ſuch of the great proprietors as prefer popularity to riches.——

LETTER IV.

If the repreſentative body in a free ſtate conſiſted of an equal number of deputies from *property*, and from *perſons* independent of property, it would be impoſſible, while a juſt balance was maintained, for either of them to incroach on the other; but that equality, for the reaſons which have already been mentioned, cannot be preſerved. The remedy for this defect muſt be looked for in the executive part of government, which may be formed in three different ways, viz. either to remain in the legiſlature, which, for obvious reaſons, would be highly improper, or to be delegated by them to a council, or to a ſingle perſon, for putting the laws effectually in execution.

If the executive power is placed in a council appointed by, and ſubordinate to the legiſlature, but without influence on that body, ſuch a power would be of no uſe in preſerving the balance between *perſons* and *property* in the repreſentative aſſembly; on the contrary, it would prove an engine in the hands of the majority for increaſing their power; the members of

which

which the council conſiſted would be changed with the parties in the legiſlative body, and public meaſures muſt, of courſe, become fluctuating. At any rate, it would neither have power nor dignity ſufficient to prevent individuals from aſpiring at too much influence in the ſtate, and would prove a conſtant ſource of intrigue and cabal.

Theſe, and many other evils, uncompenſated by any equivalent good, would certainly be produced by lodging the executive power in the hands of the council, even if the repreſentatives were equally choſen by the two parties; but if the repreſentatives happened to be partially elected, the miſchief would ſtill be greater; the council would be appointed by a faction, and would be ſubſervient to its tyranny.

But if the executive part of government was permanently placed in the hands of a ſingle perſon, whoſe powers were ſo limited as to exclude every idea of becoming abſolute, he would find that his own importance greatly depended on his preſerving an equal balance in the legiſlative body; and it would be abſolutely neceſſary that he ſhould poſſeſs a ſufficient influence for that purpoſe, which might be found in the nomination to all public offices. With the executive power in the hands of a ſingle perſon, the meaſures of government would be more ſteady than if it was in a council, liable to ſudden and total changes; and the power and dignity of the chief magiſtrate would tend greatly to prevent individuals from aſpiring at an influence which might be dangerous to the ſtate; an evil which, hiſtory will atteſt, has conſtantly attended thoſe governments where *perſons* independent of property have preponderated, and where the executive power was placed in a council.——

From the *ſixth* letter may be drawn the moſt forcible reaſons for the creation of peers, which in fact, in a great meaſure, renders armed force unneceſſary in a well-poiſed government. And the moſt unqueſtionable evidence is produced, that the Britiſh government owes its excellence to its coincidence with the principles here endeavoured to be eſtabliſhed.

Letter VII.

Having explained pretty fully, in the preceding letters, the principles upon which the real freedom of a nation can alone be eſtabliſhed, I ſhall endeavour to prove, by an application of thoſe principles both to modern and ancient governments, that they are founded in truth, and ſupported by experience.

But in order to account for the actions of individuals, when they ſeem to be contrary to the intereſt of the party or claſs to which they naturally belong, and for the actions of a whole corps, when they ſeem to be in oppoſition to the general good of the community, it will be neceſſary to attend to the three following maxims, which, being founded in nature, act upon us like inſtinct.

1 In the *firſt* place, we prefer our own intereſt to that of others.

2. We prefer the intereſt of our corps or claſs with which we act, to that of the whole community.

3. And we prefer the intereſt of the community to that of other nations or communities.

If we reverſe the two firſt maxims, and prefer the intereſt of the community to that of the corps or individual, we ſhall then ſee in what real patriotiſm conſiſts. But real patriotiſm is a dictate of reaſon, not of nature, and requires an effort of which few men are capable.

To expect ſuch an effort, either from individuals or particular corps when contrary to their particular intereſt, is to expect ſomething contrary to nature.

The kingdom of France had long been under an abſolute government; neither *property*, nor *perſons* independent of property, could be ſaid to participate in the ſupreme power of the ſtate. The internal happineſs of a country in this ſituation would very much depend upon the monarch's maintaining an equal balance between *property*, and *perſons* independent of property; and in order to do this he muſt eſtabliſh equal laws, which would not allow the rich to oppreſs the poor, nor the poor to encroach upon the property of the rich: ſo that, even in a deſpotic monarchy, this balance of the two parties becomes abſolutely neceſſary to good government.

I do not mean to enter into a minute detail of the circumſtances which preceded or brought about the French revolution; it is ſufficient for my purpoſe to obſerve, that the kings of France had greatly deviated from thoſe principles upon which all good government, even under abſolute power, muſt ever depend.

Property was kept in a diſagreeable ſubjection to monarchy, but was allowed to oppreſs perſons diveſted of property, who were thereby reduced to a ſtate of miſery: